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Here the Frailest Leaves*

By DOROTHY M. SCHULLIAN

IN the year 1932 Mr. Strickland Gibson contributed a short article to that sedate and conservative English journal, *The Library*.[1] He observed in the course of it that in our modern age the chances of making bibliographical discoveries grow fewer year by year. It is discouragingly true, for a bibliographer, that most English lumber rooms and most American attics have already been explored. Moreover, our bibliographical controls have become so precise and comprehensive as to include almost every edition of almost every title published since the invention of printing. Rarely indeed can a bibliographer point with gleeful pride to an item utterly unknown to his fellow-bibliographers. Where, then, is the joy of the chase for him, where a beckoning frontier to promise him adventure and new finds? In the books already at hand, says Mr. Gibson with disarming simplicity, and, specifically, within their bindings.

There is a heresy in this which I shall set forth later. But Mr. Gibson's position is not novel. Important finds have been made over many centuries within the top and bottom covers and the backstrips of bindings. Sometimes the fragments salvaged are

* Read at the meeting of the Society in Ann Arbor, Michigan, May 23, 1953.

[1] Fourth Series, 12 (1932), 429-433.

from early manuscripts, sometimes from the waste of printers and booksellers. They may have been used to strengthen a spine, or glued together in quantity to form cardboard for a cover, or pressed into service as covering for a cover. In the majority of cases their condition on removal is pitiable, and even the most tender treatment can seldom obliterate the scars of their servitude. Their text, however, is ordinarily still legible, and so from time to time, very sporadically, in professional journals and newspapers and dealers' catalogues, we read of precious finds—the oldest fragment of an Anglo-Saxon minuscule codex preserved in England, consisting of part of a bifolium which was once used to reënforce a German binding of the sixteenth or seventeenth century;[2] a fragment of a manuscript of Liutprand of Cremona "rescued from menial duty as a binding for a cashbook in an office of the Swiss national archives";[3] two leaves of an early manuscript of Rhasis discovered by J. Christian Bay on the reverse of vellum covers of a sixteenth-century book;[4] a piece of a manuscript of the Middle English romance of Richard Coeur de Lion which served as the cover of an eighteenth-century book in the Library of St. Andrews University;[5] the so-called astronomical calendar for 1448 from a binding in the Landesbibliothek at Wiesbaden, which may be neither astronomical nor a calendar but which, with similar pieces discovered at the Library of the Jagellonian University in Cracow, precipitated the recent turbulent discussions on early printing in Mainz;[6] a sheet

[2] Aldhelm, *De virginitate,* Cambridge Univ. Add. 4219, saec. VIII/IX; see E. A. Lowe, *Codices Latini antiquiores,* 2 (1935), no. 135, and Blanche B. Boyer, *Classical Philology,* 42 (1947), 214.

[3] Reported by Gustav Meyer in *Festschrift Karl Schwarber* (Basle, 1949); see the review by E. Heyse Dummer in *Library Quarterly,* 21 (1951), 70.

[4] John L. Thornton, *Medical Books, Libraries, and Collectors* (London, 1949), p. 10, n. 2.

[5] *The New York Times,* August 30, 1949.

[6] Wehmer *vs.* Zedler; see the reviews of Wehmer's book by Curt F. Bühler in PAPERS, 43 (1949), 85-86; by Lawrence S. Thompson in *Speculum,* 24 (1949), 465-466; and by Hellmut Lehmann-Haupt in *College and Research Libraries,* 12 (1951), 91-92.

of the 36-line Bible reported by Tass to form the cover of a sixteenth-century book in a public library of Leningrad;[7] fifty-six half-sheets of Caxtons found in the covers of the Caxton Boethius once in the King Edward VI Grammar School at St. Albans and later sold to the British Museum;[8] an almanac for 1485 of which only one copy, and that one defective, had been recorded in the *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*;[9] an undescribed Koberger broadside of 1499 found as the lining of a binding for a 1492 Venetian edition of Macrobius;[10] two signatures of an apparently unrecorded French translation from Galen, printed in 1544 and recovered from the binding of a sixteenth-century book in the Library of Aberdeen University.[11] I cite finally the several pieces which were found in the sixteenth-century binding of a 1484 Boethius in the British Museum and which have been so admirably described by Mr. L. A. Sheppard in *The Library*, Fourth Series, Vol. 26 (1945), pp. 172-175.

I have purposely piled up the examples numerically and geographically in order to demonstrate that a certain aura of respectability and even of commendation attaches to this form of salvage. Some of those who love old bindings, however, think otherwise. They are accustomed with some reason to regard the salvagers as infidels and the practice as the most vicious of heresies. In the words of Mr. Ernst Philip Goldschmidt,[12] who has been an able spokesman for this disapproving group,

> If an old binding is nearly or completely falling to pieces, it should be preserved such as it is in a flannel-lined case, but it should never be patched, relined, rebacked, or otherwise barbarously treated. . . . Every book that

[7] *The New York Times*, May 10, 1947.

[8] William Blades, *The Biography and Typography of William Caxton* (London, 1877), pp. 213-214, and Curt F. Bühler in *The Library, Fourth Series*, 17 (1936), 155.

[9] Heinrich Rosenthal, Lucerne, *Incunabula medica et scientifica* [1951], no. 5.

[10] E. P. Goldschmidt & Co., Ltd., Catalogue 86, no. 205.

[11] *De simplicium medicamentorum facultatibus*; see Wm. S. Mitchell in *The Library, Fifth Series*, 2 (1948), 170-171.

[12] *Gothic and Renaissance Bookbindings* (London, 1928), 1, 123.

has through the kindness of fate come down to us in its original binding through the centuries is a precious relic, bearing in a hundred hidden ways the whole tale of its history, and the hand that dares to "renew it" destroys all that is significant, leaving nothing but an empty mask. As for the well-meaning people who deliberately remove the written or printed linings from old book covers "because they are interesting," the curse of Ernulphus on their vandalism![13]

In reply to Mr. Goldschmidt, for whose knowledge of books and bindings I have the deepest respect, let me state quite firmly that no one takes greater pleasure than I in running his hand in admiration and love over a fine, old, well-preserved binding. But I think I do this with some regard also for the book between the covers. To me the primary purpose of any binding, however beautiful, is to protect the pages which it encloses. When through age and wear it fails in this purpose, some remedial action is indicated. Mr. Goldschmidt would consign pages and binding to a slipcase and lay the item aside, its years of service ended, its warm usefulness supplanted by a cold and empty existence. A private collector is privileged to adopt this solution if he chooses. The library which serves the public has a somewhat different obligation. Its books are meant to be accessible. The contents of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century titles are not always available in later editions, and microfilm, so often helpful, is still no panacea. The original editions should therefore be accessible, and to be accessible, to be read, they must be viable, their pages protected for the present and preserved for the future by a dependable binding.

It is this latter solution which has been adopted by the Armed Forces Medical Library for the thousands of early volumes in its possession. One by one they have in recent years received loving and patient treatment at the hands of a careful craftsman who served his apprenticeship in Switzerland and who, with the intent to be quite the opposite of barbarian and vandal, has de-

[13] I would remark mildly that such linings are nonetheless sometimes offered for sale in the catalogues of E. P. Goldschmidt & Co., Ltd. See footnote 10, and also no. 272 in the same catalogue.

voted his life to the art of hand binding. The whole project is of course one of compromise. No volume is rebound if it can possibly be restored. Every scrap of paper or parchment which might yield some evidence on the provenance of the original binding, every fragment of writing or printing which might trace the history of the volume through the centuries is religiously saved and labeled. Pieces which cannot be retained with the volumes have been handed to me. Slowly and ploddingly, especially where they had been glued together to form the linings of covers, I have soaked them apart in my bathtub. My knees, I assure you, have suffered, but I have entered a bibliographer's paradise, and where the items are not unique, where identification is difficult or impossible, I can still gaze as it were into a mirror of the civilization of those early centuries. Here then are the frailest leaves, cropped and mutilated and marred, never intended to be read, yet preserved in this paradoxical way to become often, like certain thoughts of Walt Whitman, the strongest lasting. Come with me awhile to see what those in printed form contain.

The great Book Fair at Frankfurt, which is represented by eight pages from the spring catalogue of 1607 (27.3),[14] might well symbolize the various fields of knowledge embraced in our fragments. They exemplify the entire output of the publishing houses of their period. Theology and the Sacred Scriptures bulk large. Included are pieces from a Latin Job printed in tiny Roman type with extensive notes in italic (101); St. Mark's account in heavy Gothic type of the betrayal by Judas (91.7); thirty-five

[14] The number 27 will be found at the end of this paper in a list of books the bindings of which have contributed the selected fragments mentioned in the paper. It is impossible to mention all the fragments found. The numbers of the books are therefore not successive. Nor are the numbers for the fragments from each binding, which occur after the decimal point, necessarily successive. The number 27.3 assigned to these eight pages from the *Catalogus universalis pro nundinis Francofurtensibus vernalibus, de anno 1607* indicates that they were found in the binding of item 27, a 1573 Croce, and that at least two other groups of fragments, of different subject matter and format, were found in the same binding. For this binding, as a matter of fact, the distinct groups of fragments run from 27.1 to 27.6. Such a control system is sometimes awkward, but it is essential to anyone concerned with the provenance of the bindings and the history of the volume.

folios of the Old Testament in the Latin version by Erasmus which was published by Cratander at Basle in 1526 (34);[15] extensive portions of the Greek and Latin New Testaments, also edited by Erasmus and printed in the same city by Froben in 1516 and 1519 (29.2);[16] and some forty large folios of a Bible in French (61A). There are commentaries (95.3, 102), missals and the like (28, 29B.2, 88.1, 88.2, 96), a broadside antiphonal (38), offices from Strassburg (39.3) and Esztergom (89.1),[17] privileges for printing the offices of the congregation of Cluny in 1689 (71). Writings and legends of the saints appear in great abundance—of Stephen, first king of the Hungarians and born according to tradition at Esztergom (89.3);[18] of Augustine (12), Francis (13), Damian and Lawrence (19), Clement and Peter (29B.4); of Ambrose in Dutch (47.4). A full fifty of the two hundred folios on which Koberger printed in Nürnberg, on November 6, 1492, his edition of Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda aurea* went in one instance to form the boards of an item of 1482 (33). Two curious facts are involved here: those fifty folios have initials rubricated by hand, as if they had never been intended for waste, and the printer of the 1482 item in which they were found had himself printed in 1481, at Strassburg, an edition of the *Legenda aurea.*

The militant writers for and against the Church, the Catholic and Protestant standard-bearers, are prominent. There is discussion of that unparalleled episode of ecclesiastical history in which the pious Celestine V abdicated the papacy after five short months of rule and was succeeded by Boniface VIII (90). Can a pope resign? Since he has no superior on earth, who is to accept his resignation? The questions have not really needed answers since

[15] There is a copy in the Henry E. Huntington Library.

[16] The Rare Book Room of the New York Public Library has both editions.

[17] A missal for this city, printed at Nürnberg by Koberger on August 31, 1484, was offered by A. Rosenthal, Oxford, Catalogue 26 (1951), no. 1090.

[18] The same binding contributed the offices from that city which are mentioned above.

the year 1294. The Carthusian monk Denis le Chartreux, who died in 1471 after earning the appellation Doctor Ecstaticus, is represented in the fragments by his treatise on the inner reformation (18A.1), Bishop Rutilio Benzoni by selections from the six books which he wrote for the Holy Year of 1600 (18A.2). There are parts, including the colophon, from Martin Flach's edition at Strassburg on September 20, 1500, of the *De confutatione hebraicae sectae* by Graziadei (47.1). The Dominican Johannes Faber, named Bishop of Vienna in 1531, promises salvation in the Church alone (87.3). A title page is included for a French translation of Cardinal Bellarmino's *Declaration de la doctrine chrestienne*, published in Paris by the widow of Martin Durand.

On the Protestant side there are portions in German from the *Apologies* of that early Italian reformer Bernardino Ochino (55.4), Franciscan and Capuchin, who fled to Switzerland in 1542 when the influence of his friend Juan de Valdés became dangerously dominant in his sermons. One writer discusses the opinions of Jacob Heerbrand (49.1), the theologian who worked with Luther and Melanchthon. Another fragment presents thoughts on absolution by Caspar Bienemann (53.3), better known as Melissander from his love for the Greek language and literature. Likewise prominent in the Protestant annals was Johann Mülmann, professor of theology at Leipzig, who died in 1613. Our fragments include twelve pages of the funeral oration delivered for him by Vincentius Schmuck and printed at Leipzig by Tobias Beyer in 1614 (7.1). The text was that verse from the Sixty-Third Psalm, "Thy lovingkindness is better than life." The item is included in the printed catalogues of neither the Bibliothèque Nationale nor the British Museum, and a bibliographer could only with difficulty refrain from expressing here the fervent hope that the great *Deutscher Gesamtkatalog* can somehow be carried to completion.

The fragments present political as well as ecclesiastical history. The Western world will commemorate, less than a week

from today, the quincentennial of the fall of Constantinople to the Turks on May 29, 1453. Fear raced through Europe after that incredible day. In our fragments it asserts itself insistently in Latin prayers for deliverance (53.6), in a passage in Italian on the naval strength of the conquerors (70.1), and in a broadside prayer in German (25.4) issued in the very year 1566 in which Soliman I, at the age of seventy-two, led his army into Hungary on his last campaign. England's campaigns have mention in an account, printed in German at Augsburg (55.1), of the somewhat Pyrrhic expedition in which Admiral Clinton scoured the Channel in 1558 but accomplished against the French nothing really commensurate with the magnitude of his plans. The great genealogical theater of Hieronymus Henninges, published in four huge volumes at Magdeburg in 1598, contributes portions from its second volume (21).[19] Close to history is law. It may be a dictionary of legal terms (9), from which we learn, for example, that

> *Reasonable ayd (rationabile auxilium)* is a duty that the Lord of the fee claimeth of his tenants holding by Knights service or in socage, to mary his daughter, or to make his sonne Knight.

It may be a dedicatory epistle (92.2) to the jurisconsult Pierre Rebuffi, who served Francis I and Pope Paul III, and set forth the one hundred and eighty privileges enjoyed by students of law in the sixteenth century. Phanuccius de Phanucciis writes on the legal aspects of bequests (95.1), Paul Wehner on court law at Rottweil in 1575 (52). The candidates for degrees are also in evidence: at Marburg in 1598, with Antonius Matthaeus acting as *praeses,* Gotfried Scharff presented his thirty-five propositions on legacies (27.4). Later, in 1735, in a broadside printed at Duisburg on the Rhine, there is announcement of a special discussion of the question whether or not a prince is subject to law (56).

It is in literature and the arts that the fragments exert a spe-

[19] There is a copy in the New York Public Library.

cial, humanistic fascination. The classics are there, often in Aldine texts, sometimes in a reworking by a later writer. Menander speaks in Latin, then in German (87.5)[20] on prodigality (he's against it). Terence furnishes a portion of the prologue to the *Eunuchus* (30.1), Cicero pieces of his letters (55.3). In Vergil's lines (98) we trace again the whole deceitful fall of Troy, the anguish of Aeneas. We read also in verse (40) the familiar fable of the stomach which is accused of laziness by the other members of the body. It was a fable which served Menenius Agrippa well when he begged the plebeians of Rome to return from their rebellious withdrawal to the Sacred Mount. Livy had told it in prose,[21] and he told also,[22] as do our fragments (25.2), how in 179 B.C. Perseus of Macedonia sacrificed his brother Demetrius to his royal ambitions. Scraps (2) from Horace's *Satires*[23] recount that unfortunate stroll on the Sacred Way when the poet was buttonholed (or shall I say fibula'd?) by the Bore; others from the *Heroides* of Ovid (68.1) relate the tragic loves of Ariadne and Theseus, of Laodamia and Protesilaus.

For many readers of early printed books, however, there was a distinct language barrier. We moderns have too much the impression that only in our day are Latin, Greek, and other languages painfully learned, and that on the contrary in earlier and happier times they could be acquired by some magic formula. But in the Renaissance years as now there had to be grammars and dictionaries; the difference is that more people were willing to use them. A Donatus printed at Delft by Cornelis Henricz (47.6) presents the Latin conjugations with care—*audio, audis, audit . . . audior, audiris vel audire, auditur*. The compounds of the Latin verb *sedeo* are gracefully set forth by one writer in five hexameter verses (87.9):

[20] I quote the German verses: Wer nicht das wenig helt zu rath | Der kompt vmb alles das er hat. | Was dir nun Gott der Herr beschert | Das halt zu rath du bist ernert.

[21] II, 32.

[22] XL, 11ff.

[23] I, 9.

Hostibus insideo, medicus pius assidet egro,
Subsidet hic patrie, sed presidet ille Velitris,
Obsidet hic muros, podio sed considet iste,
Desidet ille piger, discordans dissidet ille,
Insidet hic asino, magnam rex obsidet urbem.

An English grammarian found the grace to be both tolerant and philosophical in his presentation of "The Construction of the Eyght Partes of Speache" (67). "Sometime," he says of the relative pronoun,

it is not gouerned at all, but is put in the ablatiue case absolute: as *Quantus erat Iulius Caesar, quo Imperatore, Romani primum Britanniam ingressi sunt,* Howe worthy a man was Julius Cesar, vnder whose conduct the Romaines fyrst entred in Brytayne.

Again,

When there cometh a nominatiue case betwene the relatiue and the verbe, the relatiue shalbe such case as the verb wil haue after him as *Foelix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum,* Happy is he, whome other mennes harmes doo make to beeware.

There are traces of a Latin-Danish dictionary (91.2), and of a Greek-Latin grammar (29B.6) whose paradigms of πράττω and δίδωμι are still letter-perfect today. We may also include in this group two tantalizing works (47.2) by a certain Lucas Nerdenus. In the *Oratorum regule* he explained for young men studying at Delft how an adjective could be changed to a substantive, how *cum* and *tum* should be used, the rules on the use of comparatives, etc.; his foreword to the students is a masterpiece of educational psychology. In the *Vocum thesaurus* he presented a Latin vocabulary with simpler meanings given in Latin and fuller explanations in Dutch. Neither of these works is known to Dutch bibliographers, and we have here therefore a shining example of what may be hidden away within the covers of bindings. Lucas was presumably from Naarden; he did one dialogue between Apollo and Mercury on the origin of Delft which is duly recorded for

the Koninklijke Bibliotheek at The Hague,[24] and which contains at the beginning honorific epigrams to him. But neither that library nor the Municipal Archives at Delft can throw further light on his career or bibliography.[25]

With guides like these and the proper zeal Latin and Greek were really learned. The output in literature and other fields reflected the training. Latin stands firmly beside the vernacular. Francesco Filelfo's Latin letters were published in several incunable editions, one of which is represented in our scraps (39.1). Much later Hieronymus Ziegler wrote two sacred dramas in Latin. The first was based on the second chapter of St. Matthew and its story of the Wise Men and Herod's mass infanticide; the second, from the twenty-fifth chapter, presented the parable of the Ten Virgins. They were performed at München in 1554 and 1552, respectively. One binding has disclosed fifteen sheets (100.2), some of them repeats, from an edition printed at Ingolstadt in 1555.[26] On the vernacular side we may mention the charlatan Jean Tabarin, who was playing the boards of farce in Paris and the provinces in the early part of the seventeenth century. In one fragment (8.1) he starts to explain the origin of the musical scale. The end of the explanation can be read in an edition of the complete works:[27] an Italian lady wanted her shoes repaired and said to the shoemaker, "Fa mi la re sol la." A far cry this from the ecclesiastical music furnished by other fragments (18A.6, 27.6), and even from the compendium of music for beginners by Heinrich Faber (49.2), which was issued in several Latin and German editions. The scraps present one printed at Nürnberg in 1591; its acrostic on the benefits of music

[24] Nijhoff-Kronenberg, *Nederlandsche Bibliographie van 1500 tot 1540*, no. 1589, printed at Delft, Corn. Henricz, September 1 (?), 1517. On May 11, 1948, Martinus Nijhoff's Boekhandel had a copy of this work.

[25] Letters from Rena Pennink, February 26 and May 11, 1948, and C. D. Goudappel, May 7, 1948.

[26] The Library of Western Reserve University has this edition.

[27] *Oeuvres complètes de Tabarin*, ed. Gustave Aventin, 2 vols. (Paris, 1858), Question XV.

could not be improved today by even the most zealous proponent of the interrelations between music and medicine. Assuming that all bibliographers know German, I quote it in the original without a qualm:

M usica lindert Menschlichs gmüth,
V nd innert Gott an seine güt.
S ie nimbt weg kümmernuss vnd leid,
I nn schimpff vnd schertz bringts grosse freud,
C reutz mühe vnd arbeit sie erquickt,
A uch machts dein stimm gantz wolgeschickt.

He who used it as recreation would scarcely have needed the playing cards which are disclosed by another binding (85).

In the general realm of the history of science the scraps offer much that is worthy of note. Haunting references to Empedocles and Pythagoras (18) emerge, along with portions from Aristotle (30.2). There are several pages (29B.3) from a work by Fra Giovanni Giocondo of Verona, Dominican theologian, philosopher, *and* architect of bridges over the Adige, the Grand Canal, and the Seine. There are hexameter verses (62.3) in praise of the famous astronomical clock at Strassburg which told in marvelous fashion

Astra polosque nouos et nexos orbibus orbes,
Horarumque vices varias, Solisque labores

while the figure of a young child appeared to strike the first quarter of each hour, a young man the second, an old man the third, and Death the fourth. On the pseudo-scientific side almanacs[28] and calendars abound, in Dutch, Latin, and German, printed in black and red, and marked by respectful attention to planetary influences and by the most quaint and charming of verses. We meet the printer Cornelis Henricz of Delft again in one for the year 1525 (47.7). Another, for 1530 (1.2), was pre-

[28] For a modern verdict on almanacs, see "Topics of the Times" in *The New York Times*, January 11, 1953.

pared by Gasparo Crivello of Milano, a pupil of that Luca Gaurico who, occupying himself mainly with judicial astrology, attained such fame by his prophecies as to be named bishop of Civitate in 1545 by Paul III; five years in this capacity sufficed him, and he did not hesitate to return then to his astrology. For 1564, the "5,526th" year since the creation of the world, Victorin Schönfeld, who had a medical degree from Marburg and published there a tract on epilepsy, did an almanac which is represented in our scraps (25.3) by a very tantalizing half of its title page. Albin Moller followed suit at Leipzig in 1602 with a calendar "fleissig vnd getrewlich gestellet"; its title page carries a cut of him, in the sixtieth year of his age, busy calculating with compass and globe (79). His was a *New Schreib Calender*. In the category of calendars I shall mention finally the *Alter und Newer Schreib-Calender* for 1643 which the mathematician Abdias Trew issued at Nürnberg. It duly listed the movements of the seven planets, the saints' days, weather signs good and bad, and furnished also, like so many of its kind, bits of medical information. Since we are about to enter the hotter days for this latitude, I share with you one sample of its advice (37):

> Jetzt hält man auff Salat vnd Schinkn,
> Sonst wenig Essen vnd viel Trinckn,
> Halt du gut Mass, trinck nicht zu geh,
> Dann mancher starb darumb dest eh.

My own interest in medical history is of course whetted especially by those scraps which deal more specifically with medicine. They may still treat of foods, like the encomium which the polyhistor Erycius Puteanus wrote on the egg (7.3). They may treat of certain effects of eating, like the conclusions on dysentery which Rodholffus Schlickius presented at Heidelberg on 10 December 1584 (32.3). They may carry Latin prayers against the pest (53.6) or transmit parts of herbals in which the virtues of the various herbs are set forth (47.8). Most fascinating are those

which are not books at all, but in the form of broadsides, or even smaller leaves printed on one side only, served as announcements of important events. One broadside (1.1) informs us that on a certain day in the month of March, immediately after the sounding of the bells of St. Peter's and in the presence of that eminent physician Panfilo Monti of Bologna, one Jacobus Moscatinus of Modena was to sustain some conclusions on elemental matter. A tiny piece (84) measuring only 5 by 10 cm. announces an examination in surgery for "tomorrow, 18 June 1762, ... at 7 a.m. sharp." In another broadside (83) Melchior Sebizius, rector of the University of Strassburg, sadly announces to his students the death of the physician Johann Kueffer, who in departing this world has exchanged "toil for rest, ignobility for glory, weakness for strength, corruption for eternity, sorrow and grief for joy, anguish for delight, want for abundance, in short, a most wretched vale of calamities ... for Paradise."

With announcements of this sort I close. They occur for less eminent personages—a marriage declaration of 1598 in broadside form from the town of Lich (27.5), the notice of a funeral service in 1654 in Paris (14.1). They illustrate above all else the two points which I have tried to demonstrate throughout this paper, that in the scraps of printers' and booksellers' waste which were used by binders unrecorded items are often preserved, and that these items can join with those already known to interpret to a modern age the period from which they come. Experts in the history of early bindings will detect a plea that when the bindings are already in poor condition they be allowed in their declining days to serve the not ignoble causes of bibliography and more general history. The final point is that the history of printing, and of bookbinding itself, will benefit thereby, for linings exposed must of necessity tell far more than linings hidden within covers.

BOOKS IN THE ARMED FORCES MEDICAL LIBRARY THE BINDINGS OF WHICH HAVE CONTRIBUTED THE FRAGMENTS MENTIONED ABOVE

1 Achillini, Alessandro, *Expositio primi physicorum.* Per Hieronymum de Benedictis, civem Bononiensem, 1512.

2 Acosta, José de, *De natura novi orbis.* . . . Coloniae Agrippinae, in officina Birckmannica, sumptibus Arnoldi Mylij, 1596.

7 Bartisch, Georg, Ὀφθαλμοδουλεία, *Das ist, Augendienst.* . . . Dreszden, durch Matthes Stöckel, 1583.

8 Bauderon, Brice, *Paraphrase sur la pharmacopee.* . . . Rouen, Martin de la Motte, 1627.

9 ———, *Pharmacopoea.* . . . Londini, Edwardus Griffinus, 1639.

12 Boerhaave, Herman, *Methodus discendi medicinam.* Venetiis, apud Angelum Pasinellum, 1727.

13 Bonet, Théophile, *Corps de médecine et de chirurgie,* 4 vols. Genève, Jean Anthoine Choüet, 1679, Volume 1.

14 Borel, Pierre, *Bibliotheca chimica.* . . . Parisiis, Carolus du Mesnil, Thomas Jolly, 1654.

18 Calvi, Giovanni, ed., *Tre consulti fatti in difesa dell' innesto del vaiuolo.* . . . Milano, Giuseppe Galleazzi, 1762.

18A Capivaccio, Girolamo, *Medicina practica.* . . . Venetiis, apud haeredes Melchioris Sessae, 1601.

19 Caserta, Francesco Antonio, *Tractationes duae ad medicinae praxim pertinentes.* . . . Neapoli, Secundinus Roncalioli, 1623.

21 Colombo, Realdo, *De re anatomica libri XV.* Francofurdi, apud Martinum Lechlerum, sumptibus Petri Fischeri, 1593.

25 Cordus, Valerius, *Novum dispensatorium.* . . . Venetiis, ex officina Valgrisiana, 1563.

27 Croce, Giovanni Andrea della, *Chirurgiae libri septem.* . . . Venetiis, apud Iordanum Zilettum, 1573.

28 Del Rio, Martin Antoine, *Disquisitiones magicae,* Vols. 1-3. Lovanii, ex officina Gerardi Rivii, 1599-1600.

29 Dioscorides, *De medica materia.* . . . Coloniae, opera et impensa Ioannis Soteris, 1529.

29B Durante, Castore, *Herbario novo.* . . . Venetia, Gio. Giacomo Hertz, 1667.

30 Erastus, Thomas, *De occultis pharmacorum potestatibus.* . . . Basileae, per Petrum Pernam, 1574.

32 Falloppio, Gabriele, *Opera quae adhuc extant omnia.* . . . Francofurti, apud haeredes Andreae Wecheli, 1584.

33 Farinator, Matthias, *Lumen animae.* [Strassburg, Printer of the 1481 'Legenda aurea'] 22 March 1482.

34 Fernel, Jean, *Opera medicinalia.* Venetiis, apud Rutilium Borgominerium, 1565.

37 Freitag, Johann, *Kurtzer Bericht von der Melancholia hypochondriaca.* . . . Franckfurt am Mayn, Caspar Rötel, 1643.

38 Gabelkover, Oswald, *Artzneybuch.* . . . Tübingen, bey Georgen Gruppenbach, 1596.

39 Galen, *Opera,* 4 vols. Basileae, per H. Frobenium, 1542. Volume 1.

40 ———, ———. Volume 2.

47 Guainerio, Antonio, *Opus praeclarum ad praxim non mediocriter necessarium cum Joannis Falconis nonnullis non inutiliter adjunctis.* Lugduni, sumptu Constantini Fradin in edibus Jacobi Myt, 1525.

49 Hippocrates, *Prolegomena et prognosticorum libri tres cum paraphrastica versione & brevibus commentariis Johannis Heurnii.* Lugduni Batavorum, apud Franciscum Raphelengium, 1597.

52 Joubert, Laurent, *Operum latinorum tomus primus.* . . . Francofurti, apud heredes Andreae Wecheli, Claudium Marnium, & Ioan. Aubrium, 1599.

53 Jüngken, Johann Helfrich, *Chymia experimentalis curiosa.* . . . Francofurti, Hermannus à Sande, 1684.

55 Lange, Johann, *Epistolae medicinales.* Basileae, Oporinus, 1560.

56 La Scala, Dominico, *Phlebotomia damnata.* . . . Patavii, fratres Sardi, 1696.

61A Mattioli, Pietro Andrea, *Kreuterbuch.* . . . Franckfurt am Mayn, in Verlegung Sigmund Feyerabends, Peter Fischers, & Heinrich Dacken, 1586.

62 Mena, Fernando, *Commentaria in libros Galeni de sanguinis missione.* . . . Augustae Taurinorum, apud Jo. Baptistam Bevilaquam, 1587.

67 Nemesius, *περὶ φύσεως ἀνθρώπου . . . De natura hominis.* . . . Antverpiae, ex officina Christophori Plantini, 1565.

68 Paulos Aegineta, *Praecepta salubria Guilielmo Copo Basileiensi interprete.* Parisiis, ex officina libraria Henrici Stephani, 1510.

70 Pico della Mirandola, *Opera.* Venice, Bernardinus Venetus, de Vitalibus, 1498. Copy 1.

71 Pigray, Pierre, *Epitome des préceptes de médecine et chirurgie.* Lyon, Antoine Beaujollin, 1682.

79 Rüff, Jakob, *Hebammen Buch.* . . . Franckfort am Mayn, 1588. Duplicate copy, withdrawn for exchange.

83 Serapion, *Therapeuticae methodus.* Basileae, per Henricum Petrum, 1543.

84 Settala, Luigi, *In librum Hippocratis Coi de aeribus, aquis, locis, commentarii V.*... Coloniae, Ioan. Baptistae Ciotti Senensis aere, 1590.

85 Spremberger, Johannes, *Ein kurtzer und gründlicher Bericht, Rath und Hülff wider die pestilentischen Kranckheit.* Bresslaw, Scharffenberg, 1555.

87 Tagault, Jean, *De chirurgica institutione libri quinque.* . . . Lugduni, apud Guliel. Rovillium, 1567.

88 Thomas Aquinas *Opuscula* (51). Milan, Beninus and Antonius de Honate, 1488.

89 Trincavella, Vittore, *Omnia opera.* Lugduni, ex officina Iuntarum et Pauli Guittii, 1586.

90 Ursinus, Simon Christophorus, *Quaestum meretricium . . . praeside Domino Simon. Christoph. Ursino J. U. D. publice dispungendum propono Joh. Werner.* . . . Francofurti ad Viadrum, typis Johannis Coepselii, 1682.

91 Valasco de Tarenta, *Philonium.* . . . Lugduni, per Jacobum Myt, 1526.

92 ———, ———. Lugduni, apud Scipionem de Gabiano, 1535.

95 Vélez de Arciniega, Francisco, *Libro de los quadrupedes y serpientes terrestres.*... Madrid, en casa de P. Madrigal, 1597.

96 Vettori, Leonello, *Practica medicinalis . . . cum scholiis Ioannis Kufneri.* Lugduni, apud Antonium Vincentium, 1554.

98 Vigo, Giovanni da, *Opera . . . in chyrurgia.* . . . Impensis Jacobi q. Francisci de Giuncta Florentini, 1530.

100 Wecker, Johann Jakob, *Antidotarium speciale.* . . . Basileae, per Eusebium Episcopium et Nicolai Fr. haeredes, 1576.

101 ———, *De secretis.* . . . Basileae, ex officina Pernea, 1587.

102 Wirsung, Christoph, *Ein new Artzney Buch.* Ursel, durch Cornelium Sutorium, 1605.

Jones' *Nests and Eggs of the Birds of Ohio**

By Ernest J. Wessen

BEYOND an irresistible urge to produce this extraordinary color-plate book, and free access to the life savings of a country doctor, its authors possessed few apparent qualifications to undertake it. Such interest in ornithology as either Genevieve Estelle Jones or Eliza J. Shulze may have demonstrated had not become manifest beyond the borders of their home town, Circleville, Ohio; while, as artists, they were of that large category of self-taught limners whose works had elicited polite compliments at local bazaars. With incredible naïveté, this pair of young women (they were in their early thirties) proposed to publish an illustrated, scientific work in twenty parts, to sell at the then not inconsiderable price of five dollars a part. And those illustrations were to be colored lithographs, involving processes concerning which they were in complete ignorance.

Aiding and abetting them—indeed, the prime mover of the project from start to finish—was Doctor Nelson E. Jones, father of Genevieve. His little book of rambling reminiscences[1] discloses a rabid sportsman and a naturalist at heart; one who wrote "It is worthy of remembrance that it is only those who base their conclusions on observed nature that make permanent reputations, and show that theory and discussion do not settle any thing worthy of a place in science." He was thoroughly familiar with the works of Audubon, Wilson and Nuttall, and kept

* Read at the meeting of the Society at Ann Arbor, Mich., May 23, 1953.

[1] *The Squirrel Hunters of Ohio* (Cincinnati, 1898).

abreast of the writings of contemporary ornithologists. In short, he was an enlightened amateur.

Besides financing the project, Dr. Jones assumed responsibility for the field work. With his little cocker spaniel, Archos, he began collecting nests in the spring of 1877. A charming note appears in *Squirrel Hunters of Ohio*[2] wherein Jones pays high tribute to the industry and sagacity of Archos in finding the "little homes" during the eight seasons in which they were daily in the field. He kept well ahead of the artists throughout the progress of the work.

In the autumn of 1877 an agreement was made with Robert Clarke, the Cincinnati publisher, to print the text and wrappers. It was Clarke who introduced the authors to the lithographer, Adolph K. Krebs. Dame Fortune could not have been kinder, for if Krebs was not the best-known Cincinnati lithographer, he was a fine craftsman and could give the time necessary to instruct the tyros in the technique of drawing upon stones. His correspondence with them is in the Ross County Historical Society, Chillicothe, Ohio,[3] and reveals his kindly patience during a trying period when it became necessary to shuttle sixty-five-pound lithographic stones back and forth, between Circleville and Cincinnati, because of beginners' errors.

Not once does the profit motive appear to have been controlling with the authors. An informal partnership arrangement was entered into with each of the authors contributing one hundred dollars to the project, while Doctor Nelson E. Jones advanced the funds necessary for the completion of the work. When they specified an expensive paper for the plates, Krebs countered with the suggestion that an inexpensive cold-pressed paper be substituted, which he could supply at seventeen cents a pound. They had set their sights high and would settle for nothing less than

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 43.

[3] I am deeply indebted to Mr. Eugene Rigney, Chillicothe, Ohio, for bringing this correspondence to my attention, and supplying transcripts.

the best; Clarke's proposal that Whatman's "Antique" paper at fifteen cents a sheet be used was adopted without demur.

Krebs' infinite patience was matched only by the fussiness of his clients, yet progress was surprisingly rapid. It is true that the trial proof of the first plate was forthcoming on February 16, 1878, and it was midsummer before the stone was in such condition that Krebs could run off the plates. Too, there were lithographer's errors, the third plate being delayed for several weeks because of Krebs' mistakes in spelling. After the first four stones had been finished to the satisfaction of all concerned there were no further delays.

Howard E. Jones (he rarely used the middle initial) first appeared as a participant in 1878, the year in which he began to practice medicine in Circleville. Six years younger than his sister, Genevieve Estelle, the symptoms of his being something of a badly spoiled child began to crop out early in his association with the project. His layout of the printed matter on the wrappers specified that the names of the authors should appear in very small type. This brought a sharp protest from Clarke; and the authors instructed Clarke to follow his own judgment on such matters.[4] Thus Jones started; sixty years later he was to claim full credit as author of the work in his sketch in *Who's Who in America*.[5]

Because about all that has been written concerning the history of this book has stemmed from the pen of Howard Jones, it is necessary that we dispose of him as a witness at this point. In 1886 he wrote what purported to be a history of the book by way of a preface to the completed work. Therein he states that the plates have "in nearly every instance been drawn from fresh nests collected for the purpose by Dr. Howard Jones." We have seen that his father, Dr. Nelson E. Jones, with his little dog Archos, spent eight summers collecting those nests. Indicative of

[4] Letter in Jones' papers, Ross County Historical Society.

[5] *Who's Who in America* (Chicago, 1940). Vol. 21 (1940-41).

his reluctance to give credit to participants outside the family circle is his statement that Josephine Klippart was engaged to assist in coloring plates after 1880. As a matter of record,[6] Miss Klippart was employed in 1878 to color the first plates, and continued on this work through 1884.

For that matter, he was not overly generous with credit to his indulgent father for, on the general title page issued in 1886, there appears his own name as author of the text; and in the preface he credits the elder Jones only with the authorship of the text on the Quail. Not only did the elder Jones write the interesting, discursive articles on the Ruffed Grouse and the Wild Turkey (by far the longest articles in the book), but internal evidence indicates that he wrote all of the articles on game birds; while the presence of the reminiscential notes, typical of his writings, leads us to believe that he may have written the articles on a number of other subjects.

In any event, Howard Jones' contribution was relatively insignificant. For a great deal of the text he leaned heavily upon two Ohioans, neither of whom is credited in the preface. He drew generously upon the work of the Cincinnati ornithologist, Frank Warren Langdon; while so heavily did he lean upon Dr. John M. Wheaton that one emerges from a study of the book with the conviction that Wheaton should have been recorded as co-author. The *magnum opus* of that self-effacing genius, *Report of The Birds of Ohio,* was at this time slowly progressing through the press. Time and again throughout the text we find long quotations "from Dr. J. N. Wheaton's *forthcoming* [italics mine] report of Ohio birds"; indicating that Wheaton had placed his manuscript at Jones' disposal. The thirteen-line opening paragraph on the Great Carolina Wren is not in quotation marks;

[6] Papers of Howard Jones in the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society. Here I must acknowledge my indebtedness to Mr. Gene Rea, Columbus, Ohio, who examined this extensive accumulation of letters; drawing off valuable notes, and assisting the writer in an attempt to reconcile the many conflicting bits of evidence recorded in post-factum account books.

while the credit to Wheaton is buried deep in the text of a following page.

Perhaps another major contribution by Wheaton was in suggesting a colorist, although there exists no direct evidence to support this assumption. Wheaton's first book, *Catalogue of The Birds of Ohio,* first appeared in the *Ohio Agricultural Report,* 1860; thus it was published under the sponsorship of the distinguished George Hancock Klippart, then serving as secretary of the Ohio State Board of Agriculture. Klippart's daughter, Josephine, who had illustrated the *First Annual Report of The Ohio State Fish Commission,* was employed to color the plates in the summer of 1878. An accomplished water-colorist, she later became the founder of the Ohio Water Color Society.

Miss Klippart was paid one dollar for each plate colored by her.[7] If the employment of Miss Klippart is to be considered as another indication of the insistence of the authors upon work of the highest quality it was, on the other hand, an amazing illustration of their lack of common business prudence. Each part designed to sell for $5 contained three colored prints; hence the cost of coloring alone was $3. (An examination of books of account discloses that the direct cost of production of each part was $4.67 per copy, without providing for the compensation of the authors, or for many incidental expenses.)

Too, throughout the progress of the work, Miss Nellie D. Jacob, of Circleville, was employed to color eggs, and otherwise assist Miss Klippart.

The first copies of Part I were ready in the winter of 1879, and were sent to several distinguished ornithologists. Henry Davis Minot, author of *The Land-Birds and Game-Birds of New England,* in acknowledging receipt of his copy, wrote:

> My enthusiasm has not been so excited for a long while. After careful consideration I can think of no book of natural history in which the beauties of art and of nature are so largely combined. Others have represented

[7] Account book. Howard Jones' papers, *loc. cit.*

birds, butterflies, and flowers wonderfully well, but you have had superior difficulties to overcome. Your picture of the Wood Thrush's nest and eggs is a masterpiece, and if other plates are less interesting, it is only from the nature of their subjects.

No critic in his day was more feared by ornithological writers than the ruthless and often captious Elliott Coues, who received his copy with the comment:

I had no idea that so sumptuous and elegant a publication was in preparation, and am pleased that what promises to be one of the great illustrated works on North American Ornithology should be prepared by *women*. I think the plates are really artistic, as well as faithful and natural, and the text is lucid, pointed, and in every way appropriate. You have undertaken a splendid enterprise, which cannot fail of success, if it meets with support commensurate with its merits.

By way of a prospectus a small folder was printed in which these letters were quoted.[8] Taking their lead from Coues' letter, the fact that the work was to be done solely by women was emphasized; while (no doubt viewing askance the price being paid Miss Klippart for coloring) uncolored copies were offered at $2.50. Seemingly fearful that the uncolored sets might be bought and colored by others, it was stated that such copies would have the word "uncolored" stamped below the title of each plate; while colored copies would be identified with a small "patented monogram in an inconspicuous place." There exists no evidence of any original subscriptions for uncolored sets; hence the plan was never put into practice.

The prospectus proved to be quite ineffective. In July, 1879, the first part was shipped to a slender list of but twenty subscribers, among whom were a number of old friends, relatives and neighbors. Among the earliest subscribers was Mrs. J. S. Casement, of Painesville, Ohio. Her husband, General J. S. Casement, and Dr. Nelson E. Jones were intimate friends. Tradition in the Casement family is to the effect that theirs was the first

[8] Copy in Ross County (Ohio) Historical Society, Chillicothe, Ohio.

subscription placed, but a note in the papers of Howard Jones[9] indicates that the famous educator, Miss Sarah Porter, of Farmington, Connecticut, was the first subscriber. It was a very poor response which appears to have bothered the authors not at all.

Stark tragedy struck in August when Genevieve Jones died from typhoid fever. Despite shock and grief there was a deadline to meet, and the second part appeared in October, as scheduled. Tipped in was a small printed slip, signed by Eliza Shulze, announcing the death of her co-author, with the assurance that she was to continue the work with the aid of Miss Jones' mother, Virginia S. Jones, who would assist with the illustrations, as well as Howard E. Jones, who would write the text. This slip is an important point in the determination of the priority of sets in wrappers, for it appears in no set for which the subscription is known to have been placed at a later date.

Elliott Coues greeted part two with unrestrained enthusiasm:[10]

> No illustrated work to compare with the present one has appeared in this country since the splendid Audubonian period closed; and it is not too much to say of the Misses Jones and Shulze's pictorial work, that it rivals in beauty and fidelity of illustrations the productions of Audubon's pencil and brush, pronounced by Cuvier the greatest monument ever erected by art to nature. We would not be thought to have lost our critical faculty in mere admiration, nor seem to use words of praise without fully recognizing their weight; but it is useless to attempt the formality of mere criticism in a case where our enthusiasm is instinctive.

(At least one of the original subscribers failed to share Coues' enthusiasm. Theodore Roosevelt discontinued his subscription after receiving the second part.)

It seems probable that Howard Jones minimized the extent of Miss Shulze's contribution to the work after the publication of Part II. On December 26, 1879, she entered into two agreements with Nelson E. Jones.[11] In one of these she relin-

[9] *Loc. cit.*

[10] Nuttall Ornithological Club. *Bulletin.* V (1880), 39.

[11] Howard Jones' papers, *loc. cit.*

quished all of her rights in the publication to him, upon the payment of $107.67, representing the return of her original investment of $100 plus one-half of the then apparent profits; while, in the second, she agreed "to place drawings upon stone for lithographing purposes" for which she would be paid $25 per drawing. In his preface Howard Jones credits Miss Shulze with having drawn ten plates, and he also states: "For reasons entirely satisfactory, in April, 1880, Miss Shulze withdrew from the undertaking." Certainly his family had no cause for complaint. As to the feelings of this young woman who devoted over three years of her life to the work at a total compensation of $332.67, the record remains silent. Though under the agreement she appears to have been paid for thirteen drawings, we have ample reason to believe that she produced not less than eighteen; while there can be no reasonable doubt that she spent a great deal of time between October, 1879, and April, 1880, coaching the neophyte, Virginia Smith Jones.

From this incredible group of amateurs no more amazing figure emerges than that of this grief-stricken mother. As a girl she is said to have dabbled at drawing. This, coupled with Miss Shulze's coaching, constituted her only apparent equipment to undertake the monumental task ahead. Such stiffness as was evident in her earlier drawings disappeared under the superlative craftsmanship of the colorist, Josephine Klippart; and only the trained eye may distinguish between her later work and that of her predecessors. So adept did she become, that shortly she had completed drawings far in advance of Miss Klippart's requirements; and the record of payments to Krebs indicates that, at the close of the year 1883, she had finished the great bulk of the drawings needed to complete the work.

Only Howard Jones lagged behind. Plate number XV *(The Summer Warbler)* was published in Part V, July 1880, while the text for this plate did not appear until the following number was issued; so too with Plate number XXXVI *(The Blue Jay)*. It is

presumed that the occasional publication of two parts in one was due to his dilatoriness in supplying the text; for the record of payments to Miss Klippart shows that the artists were always far ahead of the schedule.

Part XIX had been published in January, 1884, when typhoid fever struck again, and both Howard and his mother were stricken. Recovery was slow. Because of the backlog of plates provided by Mrs. Jones, Miss Klippart was able to continue coloring until the close of the year 1884, when she ended her connection with the publication.

Not until April, 1885, did Part XX appear. Tipped in was a printed slip. One can almost hear the sigh of relief with which the writer announced that three more parts would complete the work, and that, barring unexpected delay, it would be finished in January, 1886. (Again, it should be noted that this slip has been found only in copies known to have belonged to original subscribers.)

Of the eight plates remaining to be published but four depicted nests, the balance being illustrations of eggs which, of course, were colored by Miss Jacobs. From this point on it appears likely that the coloring was done by the gifted mother, Virginia S. Jones, assisted by Miss Kate Gephart, of Circleville, who was employed for a year on the work following the departure of Miss Klippart. The records are silent as to the difficulties experienced in completing the book. Parts XXI and XXII were not published until October, 1886. The work was completed with the publication of Part XXIII in December 1886.

At no time while the work was in progress did the subscription list exceed twenty subscribers. With completion close at hand, the elder Dr. Jones issued a prospectus[12] wherein he offered unbound copies for $350 (new wrappers were provided for these later sets, from which the names of the original au-

[12] The only known copy is in the possession of the Long College Book Co., Columbus, Ohio.

thors were deleted), and sets of two volumes in full morocco at $375. There was a flurry of orders for the complete work, with the result that the names of thirty-five subscribers for colored sets and four for uncolored sets appear on the published subscription list; while five subscribers seem to have placed their orders too late for their names to be included on the published list.

At this juncture Dr. Nelson E. Jones was out of pocket exactly $13,181.01, according to his own account.[13] Now that the complete work was available, several eminent bookdealers displayed considerable interest in it, but the replies of the doctor to all such inquiries were vague and distrustful, and very few sales were made through dealers. His final accounting indicates that during the ten years following publication he managed to sell fourteen copies with a return of $2,150, leaving him with a net loss of $11,031.01. (This from his records among the Howard Jones papers,[14] from which source we are also able to render a fairly accurate account of the number of copies actually issued.)

A total of ninety copies were produced, of which thirty-nine colored and five uncolored copies were sold by subscription. Four of the remaining copies were lost by accident or imperfection; fourteen copies (mostly bound) were sold by Dr. Jones, and one perfect copy was retained by him, leaving twenty-seven broken, uncolored sets on hand, the unbound sheets of which were stored in his residence at the time of his death in 1901.

Just a few months before his death the old fellow wrote Bradley Whidden, the Boston publisher: "You may ask why such an arduous and expensive undertaking was consummated by one with moderate means—I know why, but no one else can ever understand."[15]

From 1886 to 1924 Howard Jones displayed not the slightest

[13] Howard Jones' papers, *loc. cit.*

[14] *Loc. cit.*

[15] Howard Jones' papers, *loc. cit.*

interest in the book or, for that matter, in ornithology. On the contrary, he became quite active in local groups interested in the archaeology and history of Circleville. He wrote several pamphlets on these subjects in which he displayed little originality, and did not hesitate to crib liberally from standard works. His interest in the book was revived in 1925 by the late Arthur H. Clark, the Cleveland bookdealer, who paid him $1250 for his mother's copy. Jones began to rummage through the cabinets of plates left by his father. He managed to make up fourteen copies containing uncolored plates, using the few available colored plates as frontispieces. These were bound in two volumes, half-morocco, and sold by him over a period of years at varying prices. The uncolored plates with their graceful, delicate drawings in crayon have a charm all their own; though the plates depicting only the uncolored outlines of eggs would seem to be of dubious value. It was his practice to insert in Volume One of each set a certificate attesting the copy to be in perfect condition, despite the fact that most of these copies contain one or more partially colored or otherwise defective plates.

Casey A. Wood describes the work as "among the rarest of American ornithologica."[16] It is very doubtful if there are in existence over five or six copies of this work in original wrappers. Recently the Ross County Historical Society, Chillicothe, Ohio, acquired the superlative Casement copy as a gift from Colonel David McC. McKell. The following is drawn from that copy:

Wrapper Title (First State)

PART *1*] [Price $5 | Illustrations | of the | Nests and Eggs | of the | Birds of Ohio | with text | by | Genevieve E. Jones and Eliza J. Shulze | Circleville, Ohio | 1879 | Copyrighted by Genevieve E. Jones and Eliza J. Shulze | July

Note: Printed on gray paper by Robert Clarke in Cincinnati, Ohio, these wrappers appear to have been first imprinted at Circleville with the year 1879,

[16] Casey A. Wood, *An Introduction to the Literature of Vertebrate Zoology* (London, 1931), p. 410.

and again imprinted with the part number, month and price. Having overestimated the requirements for wrappers for the year 1879, original subscribers received parts in wrappers imprinted 1879 down to and including part 5, July, 1880.

Wrapper Title (Final State)

Illustrations | of the | Nests and Eggs | of the | Birds of Ohio | with text | Circleville, Ohio | Copyrighted by Genevieve E. Jones and Eliza J. Shulze

Page size: 17¼ by 15¼ inches.

Collation

Part 1. (July, 1879)
Flyleaf; half-title, verso blank; blank leaf; Plate number I; 41-42, text; Plate number II; 43-44, text; Plate number III; 45-46, text; flyleaf.

Part 2. (October, 1879)
Plate IV; printed slip tipped in, 2 by 5⅝ inches, announcing death of Genevieve E. Jones, and plans for continuance of publication; 47-48, text; Plate V; 49-50, text; Plate VI; 51-54, text.

Part 3. (January, 1880)
Plate VII; Plate VIII; 55-56, text; Plate IX; 57-58, text.

Part 4. (April, 1880)
Plate X; 59-60, text; Plate XI; 61-63, text; (64), blank; Plate XII; 65-66, text.

Part 5. (July, 1880)
Plate XIII; 67-68, text; Plate XIV; 69-70, text; Plate XV.

Part 6. (October, 1880)
71-72, text; Plate XVI; 73-74, text; Plate XVII; 75-76, text; Plate XVIII; 75-82, text.

Part 7. (January, 1881)
Plate XIX; 83-86, text; Plate XX; 87-88, text; Plate XXI; 89-90, text.

Part 8. (April, 1881)
Plate XXII; 91-92, text; Plate XXIII; 93-96, text; Plate XXIV; 97-98, text.

Part 9. (July, 1881)
Plate XXV; 99-102, text; Plate XXVI; 103-104, text; Plate XXVII; 105-106, text.

Parts 10 and 11. (October, 1881 and January, 1882)
Plate XXVIII; 107-108, text; Plate XXIX; 109-110, text; Plate XXX; 111-112, text; Plate XXXI; 113-114, text; Plate XXXII; 115-116, text; Plate XXXIII; 117-118, text.

Part 12. (April, 1882)
Plate XXXIV; 119-120, text; Plate XXXV; 121-122, text; Plate XXXVI.

Part 13. (July, 1882)

123-124, text; Plate XXXVII; 125-126, text; Plate XXXVIII; 127-128, text; Plate XXXIX; 129-138, text.

Parts 14-15. (October, 1882 and January, 1883)

Plate XL; 139-140, text; Plate XLI; 141-142, text; Plate XLII; 143-144, text; Plate XLIII; 145-146, text; Plate XLIV; 147-148, text; Plate XLV; 149-154, text.

Part 16. (April, 1883)

155-156, text; Plate XLVI; 157-158, text; Plate XLVII; 159-166, text; Plate XLVIII.

Parts 17-18. (July and October, 1883)

167-168, text; Plate XLIX; 169-178, text; Plate L; 179-180, text; Plate LI; 181-182, text; Plate LII; 183-184, text; Plate LIII; 185-188, text; Plate LIV; 189-190, text.

Part 19. (January, 1884)

191-202, text; Plate LV[17]; 203-204, text; Plate LVI[17]; 205-206, text; Plate LVII.

Part 20. (April, 1885)

Printed slip, 3½ by 5 inches, tipped in. (Notice to the effect that three more parts will complete the publication, etc.) 207-208, text; Plate LVIII; 209-210, text; Plate LIX; 211-218, text; Plate LX; 219-234, text.

Parts 21-22. (July and October, 1886)

235-240, text; Plate LXI; 241-244, text; Plate LXII; 245-251, text; (252), blank; 253-254, text; Plate LXIII; 255-264, text; Plate LXIV[18]; 265-282, text; Plate LXV; 283-284, text; Plate LXVI; 285-286, text.

Part 23 (December, 1886)

(i), title-page; (ii), copyright and printer's card; (iii), dedication; (iv), blank; v-viii, preface; ix-xxxiii, introductory; xxxiv-xxxviiid, key to the eggs of the summer-resident birds of Ohio; Plate LXVII; 287-288, text; Plate LXVIII; 289-314, text; 315-319, etymological key; (320), blank; 321, names of subscribers; (322), blank; 323-324, index to illustrations; 325-329, general index.

[17] Plate LV is erroneously numbered LVI, and plate LVI erroneously numbered LV in some copies.

[18] Plate LXIV is erroneously numbered XLIV in some copies.

Fabulous Fiction*

By Richard S. Wormser

As will soon be quite evident, I have not heeded the poet's admonition to "Drink deep or taste not the Pierian spring." This is not a scholarly paper, nor is it an essay in pure bibliographical description. It is offered with the hope that my readers may be induced to share with me the pleasure I have had investigating printed publications which are hoaxes, and those which describe nonliterary hoaxes.

We should probably begin by defining the hoax. For the present purpose it may loosely be said to be an attempt to make something appear to be what it is not, with no desire for material gain. Though there may be borderline cases, most swindles and forgeries automatically disqualify themselves.

If the "what" of hoaxes is seemingly easily disposed of, the "why," I fear, is more within the province of the professional psychologist than of the amateur bibliographer. The motive of a hoax may be to deflate the egotism of an individual or a group; to give the perpetrator, usually anonymous, the mildly sadistic pleasure of secretly enjoying the ultimate discomfiture of his victims; to satirize more subtly than by parody or burlesque a contemporary popular fashion, or to satisfy numberless other purposes.

The first example of a successful hoax has been chosen with the suggestion that my readers take its subject to heart. On May 6, 1886, Franklin H. Head read before a small group, The Chicago Literary Club, a paper entitled "Shakespeare's Insomnia and the Causes Thereof." To quote Mr. Head, "Medical books

* Adapted from a paper read at the meeting of the Society in New York, January 30, 1953.

and literature throw no light upon this subject three hundred years ago. We must therefore turn to Shakespeare. . . . Was he troubled with insomnia: this is the first problem to be solved." There follows a series of Shakespearian excerpts each dealing with sleep, or, more accurately, no sleep. Mr. Head stated that, having heard of the unpublished Southampton manuscripts just acquired by the British Museum, he had written to that venerable institution to request that he be sent such of the papers as he required for study. The "10th Assistant Sub-secretary" acquainted Mr. Head with the rules of the establishment prohibiting such loans, but suggested that copies might be had for £3.3.0 exclusive of postage. According to Mr. Frederick W. Gookin's account in the 1926 Caxton Club edition of "Shakespeare's Insomnia," it was not until the name of "John Barnacle" as signer was read that the decorum of the Chicago Literary Club was upset.

Mr. Head read a series of letters from the Southampton Papers selected to prove his theory. They were, of course, in the form and language of the time. The first two contained demands for payments of overdue notes given by Shakespeare. The next was from a stockbroker asking for additional margin payment. Another, from a pawnbroker to whom Shakespeare had pledged ". . . one Henry VIII shirt of mail and visor, Portia's law book and the green bag therefor . . . ," insisted on immediate redemption of the collateral.

One William Kempe, business manager of the Globe Theatre, wrote as follows:

Globe Playhouse, Employment Bureau, May 25, 1602.

William Shakespeare:

In much tribulation do I write thee as to the contention which hath arisen among our stock actors and supes of the Globe. Nicholas Bottom, whom you brought from the Parish workhouse in Stratford, is in ill humour with thee in especial. He says when he played with you in Ben Jonson's comedy "Every Man in his Humour," he was by far the better actor and did receive the plaudits of all; despite which he now receives but 6

shillings each week while you are become a man of great wealth, having gotten, as he verily believes, as much as £100. . . . He avers that he is ground in the dust by the greed of capital, and hath prated so much of this that he hath much following . . . his very worthlessness having made him their leader, and they threaten, unless they may receive additional 4 shillings per week and a groat each night for sack, they will have no plays performed, nor will they allow others to be hired in their stead. They do further demand that you shall write shorter plays, that you shall write no tragedies requiring them to labor more than three hours in the rendition; that you shall cut out as much as twelve pages each in "Richard III" and "Othello" and fifteen pages from "Hamlet" that they may not labour to weariness, and may have more hours of recreation and improvement at the alehouse. I know not what to do. If I yield them their demands, nothing will be left for the owners of shares in the Globe; and if I do not, I fear mobs and riots. Fain would I receive thy counsel, which shall have good heed.

WILLIAM KEMPE.

The Reverend Walter Blaise, clergyman of Stratford, wrote on behalf of Mrs. Shakespeare, who "hath not the gift of writing. . ." She, it seems, had heard that ". . . You did visit with one Ben Jonson, on the Sabbath-day a place of disrepute where were cock-fights, and the baiting of a bear, and that with you were two brazen women falsely called by you the wife and sister of Ben Jonson."

A letter from Francis Bacon includes this passage:

Gray's Inn, London March 23, 1609.

For my beloved William Shakespeare, These:
By the hand of my messenger I have received thy courteous epistle of this morning and thy admirable sonnet to the fair Lady Mary in return for mine own, which I had sent to thee for suggestion and amendment. Understandingly do I say thy sonnet and on thy part it is a pleasantry to call it mine for scarcely can I recognize aught of my own handiwork save the name of the sweet lady to whom the sonnet is addressed. Fain would I claim a share in the creation of this exquisite work, yet at most from suggestion of the theme alone, my portion can be but that of the humble grub which may assert for itself that but for itself, the radiant butterfly had not been born. . . .

An editorial in the *Chicago Inter-Ocean* on November 11, 1886, commenting seriously on Mr. Head's paper, refers particularly to the stage manager's letter. The writer notes that Shakespeare had his revenge on Nicholas Bottom by putting him in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* with ass's ears. The editorial further states that "The sooner workingmen of to-day suppress and fire out their betraying and braying Nick Bottoms, the better it will be for their cause." It would appear that shortly later a faint aroma made itself known, as within a few days another article appeared, which made valiant but not too successful efforts to imply that the first was written in the same spirit as Mr. Head's paper. In fairness to the unidentified writer in *Inter-Ocean*, it should be mentioned that many since have accepted the delightful bit of Shakespeareana at its face value.

Early in the eighteenth century, Dr. Johann Bartholomaeus Adam Beringer was a professor in the University of Wuerzburg. Dr. Beringer, because it was contrary to his religious beliefs, refused to accept the contemporary theory of the origin of "figured-stones" or fossils. Certain of his students who regularly accompanied the professor on his field trips prepared a considerable number of stones, which they buried in places where they would certainly be discovered by the professor. Dr. Beringer was elated on finding them, since their form and inscriptions bore out his theories. Having gathered several dozen specimens, he hastened to acquaint the scholarly world with his discoveries. In 1726, a substantial quarto volume appeared, entitled *Lithographiae Wircesburgensis*. It was offered as a doctoral thesis submitted by a student, George Ludwig Hueber. The doctor's scientific attainments were given extended mention, and the work was illustrated with 21 full-page copper engravings depicting one hundred specimens. The stones picture, among a great variety of fossilized objects, birds, one apparently in flight; bees complete with honeycomb; leaves, flowers, a spider and its web; stars, crescents, Hebrew and Oriental characters. It is said

that, flushed with success, the worthy professor continued his excavating until he came on one of the stones which bore his name. Though friends had earlier tried in vain to dissuade him from publishing the book, his last find caused him to entertain some mild doubts. He attempted to destroy all copies of the book, which has become a great rarity, but some which escaped him were obtained by a bookseller who issued them under a different title after Dr. Beringer's death. Zittel states that a good number of the sophisticated fossils may be seen in the mineral collections at Bamberg and in other German collections. The present is one of the few hoaxes in which the hoaxee can be credited with an assist and a put-out.

Occasionally to be found in atlases by Homann or his eighteenth-century contemporaries, is a double-page engraved map in color, which to the casual viewer is a representation of some lesser-known world area. A closer inspection will show it to be even more mundane than it first seemed. The legend reads, "Accurata Utopiae Tabella das ist der Neu-entdeckten Schalck-Welt oder des so offt benannten, und doch nie erkannten Schlaraffenlandes, neue erfundene laecherliche Land-Tabell, Authorem anonymum . . . [etc.]." Among the larger subdivisions are "Magni Stomachi Imperium," "Bibonia Regnum," "Mammonia," "Lusoria Regnum." Bodies of water include "Das Mare do Ebrium und volle Meer," "Das Naerrische Meer," "Versoffene Meer," "Traurige Meer," etc. The place-names, numbering in the hundreds, in German, Latin, or in combination, are descriptive of various states of mind, emotion, or bodily welfare. The engraved figures in the cartouche depict worldly pleasures and vices.

Though I have not been able to identify the maker of this remarkable map, it seems likely that some hack map engraver, tiring of his prosaic occupation, overcame his boredom by engraving the map and sometimes successfully inserting it among the more orthodox productions of his employer. I recommend that those

of you who have access to large map collections search for one of "Schlaraffenland." If you find one it will be worth your efforts.

In 1821, there appeared the first of a series of five publications entitled *Catalogus Senatus Facultatis et eorumque munera et officia gesserunt, quique alicujus gradus laurea donati sunt in facultate Medicinae in Universitate Harvardiana.* The format was that of the triennial catalogue. It listed the matriculates, and ended with a recording of awards of honorary degrees and accompanying citations. The latter were in somewhat less than pure Latin, being chiefly of the porcine variety. Among the recipients of honorary degrees were the Emperor of Russia, Andrew Jackson, Cheng & Heng the Siamese twins, and the Sea Serpent. One 1832 honorary citation read: "Gulielmus Lloyd Garrison, Liberator, qui super apud Londinum Americanus up Salt River rowavit. 'Rara Avis' sub specie 'Tar and Feathers'." There are accounts, possibly apocryphal, of gifts sent by some of those honored with degrees, including a silver tea service from the King of Siam. After the fifth catalogue appeared the college authorities called a halt to the project.

In 1909 there was published by the Elm Tree Press, Woodstock, Vermont, the first of "The Librarians' Series," edited by John Cotton Dana and Henry W. Kent. The booklet reprinted *The Old Librarian's Almanack* by Philobiblos (otherwise known as Edmund Lester Pearson) "a very rare pamphlet first published in 1773." The frontispiece was a facsimile of the title page of the Almanac. In Mr. Pearson's signed preface he identifies Philobiblos as one Jared Bean, one-time curator of the Connecticut Society of Antiquarians. The text of the Almanac contains such sage advice as "It were better that no person enter the library (save the librarian himself) and that the books be kept in safety, than that one book be lost or otherwise misplaced," and "There will remain the necessity of recording its acquisition in your ledgers of record. . . Some would advise that if it be a volume of sermons it be placed on the shelves with others of its

like . . . this is a waste of labour. Assign it a number which shall correspond to its position on the shelf, and shall be the next in sequence from the latest book which you have added, and so let them stand in the order in which they are received. For, surely, if you desire to find a number of volumes of sermons, it will be an easy matter for you, recalling when they were purchased, to pluck them from their several resting places."

Dr. John H. Barnhart, of the New York Botanical Garden, was in 1919 engaged in compiling a bibliography of American botany. In his search for material he consulted, among many other reference works, that standard publication *Appletons' Cyclopaedia of American Biography*. In checking the biographies of botanists included, he encountered an unusual number of unfamiliar works attributed to certain of them. After a thorough search of bibliographies and the catalogues of the world's leading libraries failed to locate any of the questioned books, Dr. Barnhart suspected that all was not well in *Appletons'*. He did find the books, and condensed versions of some of the biographies, in certain reference books published later than the *Cyclopaedia*. In the September 1919 issue of the *Journal of the New York Botanical Garden*, Dr. Barnhart reprinted from *Appletons'* fourteen biographies which were wholly or in large part fictitious. As Dr. Barnhart notes, when the listings are assembled they show a striking similarity. The subjects were with few exceptions European scientists who came to America; most wrote of the botany of Hispanic-America; and several of them came under the influence of Humboldt in the United States in 1802. Unfortunately, Humboldt was in the Andes at the time. One of the listings quoted by Dr. Barnhart reads as follows.

[JOURNAL OF THE NEW YORK BOTANICAL GARDEN.
Vol. XX, Sept. 1919. No. 237.]

Some Fictitious Botanists.

IGOLINO, Giuseppe (e-go-le′-no), Italian botanist, b. in Florence in 1759; d. there in 1833. He came to the United States in 1803 on a sci-

entific mission, and remained till 1807 as Italian vice-consul in North Carolina. He sent to Europe several cases of seeds, and discovered some new gramineals, which he described afterward in his "Agrostographia" (Florence, 1824). He was relieved from his consular duties in 1807, but two years later was appointed consul at Buenos Aires. During his stay in the United States his attention was called to the Mexican hieroglyphs, which had already occupied the attention of many distinguished men of science, and it is asserted that he found a key to them, but lost the manuscript among others when he was shipwrecked in the Straits of Bonifacio on his return to Genoa in 1808. He was the first European to study the anthropology of America, and thus led the way to the work of Darwin, Boyer, De Quatrefages, and Brasseur de Bourbourg. During his stay in South America in 1809-'10, Igolino formed a rich collection of plants and engravings of animals and insects peculiar to those latitudes, studying also the cryptogamic plants of Brazil. He published "Plantae cryptogamae Brasiliae" (Florence, 1829), "Effects of the Colored Upas" and on the several species of strychnia peculiar to South America. See "Vita illustrissimi Giuseppe Igolino" (Florence, 1841).

Dr. Barnhart adds:

[The books credited to Igolino exist; they were by the well known botanist Giuseppe Raddi (1770-1829), who was, like the fictitious Igolino, a Florentine. Raddi accompanied the Austrian expedition to Brazil in 1817, and returned to Europe in June of the following year; otherwise he was never in America.]

Dr. Margaret Castle Schindler of Goucher College, following Dr. Barnhart's lead, wrote in the *American Historical Review*, July 1937, of further studies of *Appletons'* which she had made. She had learned that the editors of Sabin, when working on the letters V and W, had found seventeen more articles for inclusion in the list of suspects. She then made a careful study of the H listings and turned up fifteen new false entries. Up to 1937, forty-seven articles proved to be synthetic. As Dr. Schindler states, the strongest evidence has been bibliographical, as she was unable to credit a "work which caused a sensation in scientific circles" which was not to be found in the catalogues of the

Bibliothèque Nationale, the British Museum, or the Library of Congress.

One of the most amusing examples turned up by Dr. Schindler was the account of Charles Henry Huon de Penanster, who smuggled cochineal insects and their host, the nopal plant, out of Mexico in 1755, thus breaking the Spanish monopoly of the cochineal dye industry. Penanster is credited with three works: *Traité de Culture de Nopal, De l'Education de la Cochinille et leur Acclimation à Saint Domingue,* and *Voyage à Guaxa dans la Nouvelle Espagne.* Dr. Schindler knew that, as recounted in a long article in Sabin, Nicholas Joseph Thierry de Menonville had published a two-volume work in 1777 which, through a strange coincidence, bore a title which agrees verbatim with the three works accredited to Mr. Penanster. The latter's biographer, as Dr. Schindler puts it, "considered this too many words to waste on one title," and "thus made three titles grow where one grew before."

Though the identity of the hoaxer or hoaxers is not known, the articles indicate scientific training, knowledge of six languages, and geographical acquaintance with the area. The *Cyclopaedia* was prepared with the help of a free-lance staff whose members were paid by the article. It can be seen that the temptation was great.

The prominent publishing firm of Houghton Mifflin Company published in 1913 the *Memoirs of Li Hung Chang,* edited by William Francis Mannix, with an introduction by Hon. John W. Foster, former Secretary of State (and incidentally uncle of Mr. John Foster Dulles). Portions of the book had appeared earlier in the *New York Sun* and in a London newspaper. Though the memoirs had been accepted by all concerned as genuine, Mr. E. B. Drew of Boston, a former Chinese customs official, became suspicious of the book and eventually proved it to be a hoax. Mannix, a soldier of fortune and former newspaperman, had

been an enlisted man in the American Army in China. The *Memoirs*, supposedly edited by Mannix, were written by him in a cell of a Honolulu jail, where he was spending some time for issuing a bad check. His source material consisted of a selection of books on China furnished him by the authorities which, together with knowledge gained during his stay in Asia, enabled him to produce a very passable work. The publishers issued a new edition in 1923 with a preface by Ralph D. Paine, admitting that they had been hoaxed.

That it is sometimes as difficult to unhoax a hoaxee as to hoax him is made evident by the amazing series of letters sent by Alfred Russell Wallace to Ernest Marriott, which were published in a privately printed booklet. Wallace had received from his brother in California a printing of a poem, "Leonainie," signed "E.A.P.," which Wallace was distressed not to find in Poe's published works. The poem was written as a hoax by James Whitcomb Riley, and first published in the *Kokomo Dispatch* of August 2, 1877. Wallace stubbornly resisted evidence of the real nature of the poem, attempting to prove it Poe's by its similarity to his style. Finally forced to admit the facts, his last shot shows that he went down with colors flying. He wrote, "Riley did not and does not appreciate the beauty of the poem he wrote."

In the year 1916, as Louis Untermeyer says in *American Poetry Since 1900*, ". . . poetry was enjoying boom times." Schools of modern poetry with improbable names were rampant. The era was ideal for the publication by Mitchell Kennerley of a book of verse called *Spectra*, by Emanuel Morgan and Anne Knish. As stated in the preface, the Spectrist theory was that "the theme of a poem is to be regarded as a prism, upon which the colorless white light of infinite existence falls and is broken up into glowing, beautiful, and intelligible hues." Shortly after publication, the book caught the appreciative and extolling eye of the little and some larger magazines. *Others, a Magazine of New Verse* de-

voted an entire issue to it; the *Forum* carried an encomium of the verse. One of the gems by Emanuel Morgan follows:

Opus 104
How terrible to entertain a lunatic !
To keep the earnestness from coming close !
A Madagascar land-crab once
Lifted blue claws at me
And rattled long black eyes
That would have got me
Had I not been gay.

The war put an end to the school, as Anne Knish, otherwise known as Arthur Davison Ficke, was commissioned in the Army, and Emanuel Morgan disclosed that he was more generally known as Witter Bynner.

In 1944 a book of poetry, *The Darkening Ecliptic,* was published in Melbourne, Australia. The author's name was given as Ern Malley. In the preface, the anonymous actual authors tell of having submitted the verse to a periodical, *Angry Penguins,* which printed it in a special issue. The poems were written in one afternoon with the aid of a *Concise Oxford Dictionary,* a set of Shakespeare, and a dictionary of quotations. The first three lines of the poem "Culture as an Exhibit," "Swamps, marshes, borrow pits, and other areas of stagnant water serve as breeding grounds . . ." were lifted verbatim from a United States Government report on draining the breeding grounds of mosquitoes.

The *New York Sun* in August, 1835, printed the first of a series of articles announced as reprinted from the *Edinburgh Journal of Science,* which revealed discoveries about the moon made by Sir John Herschel with the telescope he had set up at the Cape of Good Hope. By viewing the image from the huge telescope through a microscope, Sir John brought into view an astounding variety of flora and fauna. Included in the latter were male and female bipeds, conveniently equipped with wings. The circu-

lation of the *Sun* boomed to an unprecedented 19,000. A delegation from a New Haven university is said to have come to New York to see the original Edinburgh publication, which was defunct at the time. A number of separate printings appeared, including several translations published on the continent. Poe, finding that the main points of his *Hans Pfaal* were anticipated, never finished the tale. Authorship has generally been credited to Richard Adams Locke, then on the staff of the *Sun*, and he openly claimed authorship in the 1859 edition. However, a number of trustworthy authorities make a strong case in favor of the authorship of Joseph Nicolas Nicollet, known to Americanists for his Missouri and Mississippi River expeditions, whose French scientific background would have prepared him for it.

On April 26, 1917, in the rooms of the Authors Club in New York, the centenary of the birth of Feodor Vladimir Larrovitch was celebrated. Such scholars and literary figures as Dr. Franklin H. Giddings, William G. Jordan, Richardson Wright, and Dr. Titus Munson Coan read papers on various phases of Larrovitch's life. Exhibited in the club rooms were the author's embroidered shirt, pressed flowers from his grave, photographs of his grave, pages of manuscript, etc. The memorial volume issued by the club in 1918 contains a bibliography of Larrovitch, beginning with *Crasny Baba*, published in Moscow in 1852, and including criticisms of his works. Some appear in Russian characters. Mr. Wright told me some time ago that these were formed by spelling backwards the names of the office stenographers and transliterating them. A number of the members were admitted to the group which originally conceived the idea of celebrating this imaginary writer's centenary, but most were taken in, at least for a time.

An impressive book of 119 pages, illustrated with 228 full-page lithographed plates and entitled *Manuscrit pictographique Américain précédé d'une notice sur l'ideographie des Peaux-Rouges*, by the Abbé Emmanuel Domenech, appeared in Paris in 1860.

To quote Sabin, "The work purported to be a facsimile of a manuscript in the 'Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal à Paris.' It is evidently the drawing book of some clumsy youth, whose genius was certainly not very bright." Shortly after the publication of the book, Mr. J. Petzholdt exposed Domenech's work in a pamphlet, *Das Buch der Wilden im Lichte franzoesischer Civilisation mit Proben aus dem in Paris als 'manuscrit pictographique Américain' veroeffentlichten Schmierbuche eines deutsch-amerikanischen Hinterwaeldler Jungen.* Domenech immediately issued a reply, *La Vérité sur le livre des sauvages*, in which the author, again to quote Sabin, "attempts to prove the authenticity of his previous work by reproducing some inscriptions found on the rocks in New Mexico and Sonora." He addressed his attack directly to Petzholdt and the many journals which had published exposés of the original.

Though the announced auction sale of the library of Jean Nepomucène-Auguste Pichauld, Comte de Fortsas, and its catalogue have been chronicled and discussed in many books and periodicals since the 10th of August 1840, a brief retelling will serve as a starting point for an account of the less well known "Documents et Particularités Historiques . . ." published in 1856 by E. Hoyois, printer of the original catalogue.

In July 1840, European librarians and leading book collectors received by post a pamphlet of sixteen pages, the catalogue of the library of the Comte de Fortsas, which was to be sold at auction on the 10th of August in the Belgian small town of Binche. Even a first glance made it evident that these were no ordinary books. As the preface stated, the Count kept in his library only books of which no other copies were known. This explains the gaps in the numbering, which were caused by the casting out of items previously considered unique, on their being described by bibliographers. As will be recounted, the printer, to whom bids were to be sent, was soon in receipt of communications from leading lights of the book world. On the announced date of the sale strangers came to the little town in such numbers that the local

authorities held an emergency meeting to discuss the possible purpose of the sudden invasion. Towards evening, a gentleman who had been following the visitors and listening to their conversation, read aloud an announcement which had ostensibly arrived on the Brussels stagecoach. It stated that the town of Binche, to preserve its local treasures, had purchased the collection *en bloc* for the local public library. On making enquiries, the visitors discovered that there was no Comte de Fortsas, no Mr. Mourlon, Notary, no Rue d'Eglise, and no public library. The gentleman who read the announcement was Rénier Chalon, bookseller, who has generally been credited with authorship of the hoax, though it is probable that he had inspiration or assistance from certain fellow members of the Société des Bibliophiles Belges.

As is usual with hoaxes of this kind, it might soon have been known to only a few (since the hoaxees would obviously not advertise their gullibility), if the printer of the catalogue, M. Hoyois, had not in 1855 issued a prospectus for a new edition of the catalogue to be printed on "extra fine colored paper." This would contain the correspondence he had received concerning the original catalogue. M. Hoyois obviously possessed the material for an interesting, though to some an extremely embarrassing publication. He further stated that the proposed catalogue would contain a marvellous rarity, a facsimile of an autograph letter from the Count himself. Shortly after the appearance of the prospectus Hoyois was visited by Chalon, who informed him that he would not consent to the publication of a new edition of the Fortsas Catalogue or of what he termed confidential letters. The visit was followed by a letter in which Chalon repeated his objections and threatened legal action if Hoyois persisted in his plan. Six days later, Chalon sent out under the letterhead of the Société des Bibliophiles Belges a letter, signed by its president, urging members to refuse to encourage by their subscriptions the republication of a jest worn threadbare, and the indelicate act of

publishing confidential letters. Hoyois points out in the "Documents . . . Historiques" that Chalon had no authority from the society to send out the letter, which went to every member except Hoyois himself. Within a few days Hoyois was served with legal notice to desist from publication. This was followed by a note inserted by Chalon in Brussels journals, stating that the courts were about to give a decision on the legality of the proposed reprint. Hoyois was quick to take advantage of this, writing to each newspaper to thank Chalon for advertising his undertaking, and pointing out that Chalon had not mentioned that the publication would contain not only the catalogue, but also the letters; an account of the pilgrimage to Binche; and reprints of articles in the contemporary press.

As chronicled in the "Documents . . . ," before the appearance of the book an amazing amount of correspondence, polite and vituperative, claims and counterclaims were exchanged by the principals and their followers, who included leading librarians and bibliophiles.

In the 222-page book which Hoyois finally published, he abandoned the idea of a verbatim reprint of the catalogue. Instead, he included it piecemeal by publishing every letter received from bidders, adding to each the catalogue description of the items wanted. M. F. M. Crozet, of the Bibliothèque Royale of Paris, wrote that as he presumed he could not buy any books in advance of the sale, he would send bids on two books. M. Brisart stated that, as he had seen copies of several of the books listed, the claim of uniqueness was obviously exaggerated. M. Van de Weyer, Belgian Minister to London, sent unlimited bids for eight books. M. L. Polain, Archivist of Liége, sent a number of bids, including an unlimited bid on one book of which (the catalogue stated) he owned a badly defective copy. A few days later he again wrote saying that on rereading the catalogue, he was convinced that it was a hoax. M. Polain backed up his opinion by writing for the *Politique* of Liége a supposed account of the sale

with prices and buyers' names, which was published on the announced day of the sale. The article concluded with a statement that the sale was a hoax, and expressed the opinion that Chalon was the perpetrator.

Hoyois published in the 1856 book every line of correspondence, reprinted every newspaper article, favorable and unfavorable, and added long repetitive comments of his own on each.

There is little doubt that the Fortsas sale was the most amusing and carefully planned hoax in rare-book history. Some may question whether it warranted the blow-by-blow description accorded it by M. Hoyois, and to some degree, by me.

One of the rarest of bookplates is that with this wording: "Ogima obwandiyag Omasinangani tessabang." American Indian scholars will of course properly translate these words as "Chief Pontiac from his bookcase." Though the plate is rather crudely printed on old paper, it is of comparatively recent origin. Its delivery room was the basement of the Clements Library, and its birthdate 1944. Colton Storm, of that Library, and Howard H. Peckham, who was then his associate, decided to disprove the last line of another library's report which states that ". . . a library is like an enchanted castle wherein slumber the world's greatest minds." (Since I recognize the value of butter on bread, I shall not disclose the name of the library.) Mr. Peckham had learned, during his research for his life of Pontiac, that the latter had owned certain books. What could more reasonably follow than that he had a bookplate? The conspirators of Pontiacana decided that a small hand press could be put to good use, and asked a professor at the university to word the proposed product in good American Indian. About fifty copies were struck off, and a small number were securely glued to the marbled end-papers of old book covers in the library's basement. After the glue had set, the plates were "roughly removed," as the cataloguers put it. A fine example, with remains of the marbled paper present, soon bore in a meticulous hand in pencil the inscription: "This looks

all right to me. W.E." It was sent to a New York bookdealer with instructions to send it for authentication to Dr. Randolph G. Adams, with a note saying that the plate had fallen out of a pamphlet which the dealer had purchased from another dealer who (as Dr. Adams was sure to know) had bought some material from the estate of Dr. Wilberforce Eames. Messrs. Storm and Peckham were in the office of the Director of the Clements Library when the letter arrived. Those of you who had the privilege of knowing Dr. Adams will not find it difficult to picture the scene which followed. There was, to put it mildly, considerable excitement, not lessened by Dr. Adams' telephoning the same professor who had furnished the wording to obtain a translation. While Dr. Adams was out of his office for a few moments, the remaining forty-odd copies were strewn across his desk. In deference to the dignity of this meeting and the reputation of its host,[1] I shall at this point abruptly end this account.

[1] The New-York Historical Society. *Editor.*

Benjamin Edes, Trumpeter of Sedition

By Rollo G. Silver

THE modern physicist, newly conscious of the power for good and evil in his rearrangement of the building blocks of the universe, is a familiar picture to the historian of printing. For five centuries, printers have been proud of, but frightened by the explosive energy in the twenty-six lead soldiers they have manipulated. Yet printers have in the main resisted courageously the forces which would degrade the purposes of their craft; the trials of Zenger and Bradford for the freedom of the press come to mind at once. Moreover, they have sacrificed themselves and their property in the everlasting battle to disseminate new, revolutionary ideas unpopular to their rulers. It is unfortunate that so many of their names are dimmed by the fame of the authors and philosophers whose works they have issued. One such fighter against tyranny was Benjamin Edes, a true Revolutionary patriot, who helped destroy the British power with his printing press.

Edes and his partner, John Gill, conducted the *Boston Gazette*, the newspaper which printed much of the literature which served to incite the American Revolution. According to Buckingham, "No press in the country exerted a more powerful influence over the feelings, opinions, and conduct of the people."[1] Winsor states that its pages resisted "the successive invasions of the chartered right of the colonies, with rich and varied learning . . . and with fiery and indignant eloquence. . . ."[2] And Isaiah Thomas testi-

[1] Joseph T. Buckingham, *Specimens of Newspaper Literature* (Boston, 1850), I, 167.

[2] Justin Winsor, *The Memorial History of Boston* (Boston, 1886), III, 133.

fies that "No publisher of a newspaper felt a greater interest in the establishment of the independence of the United States than Benjamin Edes; and no newspaper was more instrumental in bringing forward this important event than *The Boston Gazette*."[3] Certainly the career of Benjamin Edes deserves recounting as a tribute to him in this year, the sesquicentennial anniversary of his death.

Unfortunately, since very few of his personal documents and memoranda have been preserved, it is impossible to compile a detailed biographical sketch—or even an adequate chronology. But his fearless participation in public affairs, between the obscure early years and his shadowy old age, remains recorded in contemporary newspapers and documents.

Benjamin Edes' father, Peter Edes, was the grandson of John Edes who emigrated from Essex county, England, sometime near the end of the seventeenth century. Peter Edes, a hatter of Charlestown, Massachusetts, maintained a respectable position in his community: his name appears as a subscriber to Prince's *Annals,* 1728-1736, and in later years he served on the Committee of Correspondence as well as on the Donation Committee.[4] In 1729, he married Esther Hall. Their second child, Benjamin, was born in Charlestown on October 14, 1732, and baptized at the First Church on the following day.[5] The background of his youth and the circumstances of his education have not been established. The first twenty-one years of his life, however, must have included a printer's apprenticeship for, in 1754, Robert Abercrombie's *An Account of the Proceedings of the Presbytery* bears the imprint of B. Edes and J. Gill in King Street. Since this is the only known imprint of the firm for that year, it can be assumed

[3] Isaiah Thomas, *The History of Printing in America* (Albany, 1874), I, 139.

[4] Thomas B. Wyman, *The Genealogies and Estates of Charlestown* (Boston, 1879), I, 320.

[5] "Record-Book of the First Church in Charlestown," *New-England Historical and Genealogical Register,* XXXII (1878), 287.

that Edes and John Gill, a printer who had recently finished his apprenticeship with Samuel Kneeland, set up their firm toward the end of 1754. Early in the following year, they issued subscription papers for a new weekly newspaper, *The Country-Journal*, planned for publication beginning the first week in March.[6] A poor response disappointed the printers; on March 25, they announced that "as a sufficient Number of Subscribers have not yet appear'd, we are obliged to defer it for a Week or two."[7] In the same announcement, they also stated their policy: "Our principal Intention is to make our Paper free in the strictest sense, —free to any Gentlemen who will favour us with their Speculations upon any Art, Science or Political Subject, provided they are wrote with Decency and Spirit." While Edes and Gill collected subscriptions, Samuel Kneeland announced that he would discontinue publication of his *Boston Gazette* on the thirtieth of April. The new firm, seizing this opportunity to strengthen its subscription list, acquired the *Gazette*. On April 1, Kneeland declared that publication would cease with that issue rather than on April thirtieth since "his continuing of it even to that Time, wou'd prejudice him in other Parts of his Business."[8] Immediately below this notice appeared the advertisement of *The Boston-Gazette, or Country Journal*, the first number of which was issued by Edes & Gill on April 7, 1755, at "their Printing-Office near the East End of the Town-House, in King-Street."

When one remembers that Edes and Gill were born in the same year, that each had recently finished an apprenticeship, and that Gill has been identified with the printing office of Samuel Kneeland, one is prompted to suggest that Edes also served his apprenticeship in that office.[9] It seems likely that two apprentices

[6] *Boston Gazette*, Feb. 11, 1755, p. 3, col. 2.

[7] *Boston Gazette*, March 25, 1755, p. 3, col. 2.

[8] *Boston Gazette*, April 1, 1755, p. 4, col. 1.

[9] Biographical information about John Gill appears in Thomas, *op. cit.*, I, 139-140.

working side by side would decide upon a partnership and, after establishing an office, attempt to continue the publication of the journal they knew well. In any event, the young fellows exercised excellent taste in choosing each other as partner; the firm lasted more than twenty years.

After launching the *Gazette,* they settled into the workaday life of the colonial printer. In May, 1755, Edes married Martha Starr and within a year Gill had married Ann Kneeland, the daughter of his former master.[10] In July, 1755, they moved their shop to the printing office lately vacated by Rogers & Fowle, next to the prison in Queen Street.[11] Between the weekly printings of the *Gazette,* books and pamphlets were printed for the booksellers as well as for themselves. The first of many sermons by Charles Chauncy and Jonathan Mayhew, a lecture on earthquakes by John Winthrop, parts of Prince's *Annals,* Chauncy's important letters on the Ohio and Lake George battles comprise some of the Edes & Gill imprints of 1755. During the next few years, they printed Benjamin Church's poem, *The Choice,* sermons, theological tracts, and almanacs in addition to job work and newspaper. The young entrepreneurs apparently felt free to print what they wished, even to controversial religious matter. However, they soon discovered that this could not be done with impunity. In March, 1757, they were called before the Selectmen of Boston who, according to the record, informed Edes that

> It has been the disposition of the Selectmen to Encourage Persons Industrious in their Business & you in particuler by giving you a full Share of the Towns Business we now deliver you this Vote of the Town to Print but at the same time Inform you, that you have printed Such Pamphlets & such things in your News Papers as reflect grossly upon the receivd religious principles of this People which is verry Offensive and Complaints

[10] *A Volume of Records . . . Containing Boston Marriages From 1752 to 1809* (Boston, 1903), pp. 15, 18.

[11] *Boston Gazette,* July 28, 1755, p. 1, col. 1.

have been made to us by some of the Inhabitants concerning S^d^. Pamphlets & papers we therefore now Inform you if you go on printing things of this Nature you must Expect no more favours from Us. To which M^r^. Edes answerd to the following Effect. That He was sorry He had given Occasion to any Persons to be Offended at what He had printed, but that He would take more care for the future, & publish nothing that shall give any uneasiness to any Persons whatever.[12]

This encounter with vested authority may have discouraged the two partners, but they continued their efforts to establish a steady and lucrative business. When the Stamp Act expired in 1757, they lowered the price of the *Gazette*.[13] Production of books and pamphlets did not diminish, and their retail facilities were enlarged by selling paper, ink powder, commercial and legal blanks.[14] Edes, furthermore, served as Constable in 1757, as Scavenger in 1760, and as Clerk of the Market from 1763 to 1765.[15] In 1760, he became a member of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company; three years later, he joined the Massachusetts Charitable Society.[16] These and other activities attracted more business for the printing office: Artillery Company sermons, the official papers of the House of Representatives, and Boston town printing. Lest it be implied that all the printing was political or religious in nature, two important cultural contributions should be noted: Jared Eliot's *Essays upon Field-Husbandry in New-England* (1760) and John Winthrop's *Relation of a Voyage from Boston to Newfoundland for the Observation of the Transit of Venus* (1761).

When, in 1761, Lt. Gov. Hutchinson suggested that gold be

[12] *A Report of the Record Commissioners . . . Containing the Selectmen's Minutes from 1754 Through 1763* (Boston, 1887), pp. 54-55.

[13] *Boston Gazette*, May 2, 1757, p. 3, col. 1.

[14] *Boston Gazette*, July 12, 1762, p. 4, col. 2.

[15] Robert F. Seybolt, *The Town Officials of Colonial Boston, 1634-1775* (Cambridge, Mass., 1939), pp. 280-312.

[16] Oliver A. Roberts, *History of the Military Company of Massachusetts* (Boston, 1897), II, 100; *Charter and By-Laws of the Massachusetts Charitable Society of Boston* (Boston, 1871), p. 26.

made legal tender at a diminished rate, the *Gazette* was quick to reply with an article by James Otis.[17] The following year, Edes & Gill published *A Vindication of the Conduct of the House of Representatives* in which Otis protested the increase of men on the *Sloop*. This according to Tudor, was "the original source, from which all subsequent arguments against taxation were derived."[18] Two years later, in 1764, they issued another tract by Otis, *The Rights of the British Colonies Asserted and Proved*, and the pamphlet by Oxenbridge Thacher, *The Sentiments of a British American*, which attacked the Navigation Act and the Acts of Trade. Thus, when the Stamp Act was introduced to Parliament in 1765, Benjamin Edes and John Gill stood ready to prove the statement which appeared at the heading of the *Boston Gazette:* "A free press maintains the majesty of the people."

Edes, a member of the Loyall Nine, the directing group of the Sons of Liberty, filled the columns of the *Gazette* with article after article attacking the Stamp Act.[19] During the summer of 1765, the incessant campaign goaded Bernard to refer to the "infamous weekly paper which has swarmed with Libells of the most atrocious kind."[20] John Adams, however, encouraged the printers,

> Be not intimidated . . . by any terrors, from publishing with the utmost freedom, whatever can be warranted by the laws of your country; nor suffer yourselves to be wheedled out of your liberty by any pretences of politeness, delicacy, or decency. These, as they are often used, are but three names for hypocrisy, chicanery, and cowardice . . . . your paper deserves the patronage of every friend to his country.[21]

The *Gazette* did not desist. It remained unstamped and continued its opposition. A glimpse of the effective methods of Edes & Gill

[17] William Tudor, *The Life of James Otis* (Boston, 1823), p. 98.

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 122.

[19] Arthur M. Schlesinger, "The Colonial Newspapers and the Stamp Act," *New England Quarterly*, VIII (1935), 73.

[20] Ralph V. Harlow, *Samuel Adams* (New York, 1923), p. 47.

[21] Schlesinger, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

appears in a letter from Henry Bass to Samuel P. Savage, written soon after the resignation of Andrew Oliver, the stamp distributor. The letter describes the arrangements of the Loyall Nine for Oliver's public resignation under the Liberty Tree:

> The whole affair transacted by the Loyall Nine, in writing the Letter, getting the advertisements Printed, which were all done after 12 oClock Monday Night, the Advertisements Pasted up to the amount of a hundred was all done from 9 to 3 oClock.[22]

In another paragraph, Savage describes the party on the day of Oliver's public appearance:

> And upon the Occasion we that Evg. had a very Genteel Supper provided to which we invited your very good friends Mr. S[amuel] A[dams] and E[des] & G[ill] and three or four others and spent the Evening in a very agreable manner Drinking Healths etc.[23]

Further celebration awaited repeal of the Stamp Act, and the Sons of Liberty soon began to plan a huge patriotic demonstration which would occur when word of repeal arrived. In his diary under date of January 15, 1766, John Adams describes a preliminary meeting:

> Spent the evening with the Sons of Liberty, at their own apartment in Hanover Square near the tree of liberty. It is a counting-room in Chase and Speakman's distillery; a very small room it is.
>
> John Avery, distiller or merchant, of a liberal education, John Smith, the brazier, Thomas Crafts, the painter, Edes, the printer, Stephen Cleverly, the brazier, Chase, the distiller, Joseph Field, master of a vessel, Henry Bass, George Trott, jeweller, were present. I was invited by Crafts and Trott to go and spend an evening with them and some others. Avery was mentioned to me as one. I went, and was very civilly and respectfully treated by all present. We had punch, wine, pipes and tobacco, biscuit and cheese, &c. I heard nothing but such conversation as passes at all clubs, among gentlemen, about the times. No plots, no machinations. They

[22] "Savage Papers, 1703-1779," *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, XLIV (June, 1911), 688.

[23] *Ibid.*

chose a committee to make preparations for grand rejoicings upon the arrival of the news of a repeal of the Stamp Act. . . .[24]

In the meantime the printing office continued to produce more revolutionary tracts; two more works by James Otis had appeared, *Brief Remarks on the Defence of the Halifax Libel* (1765) and *A Vindication of the British Colonies* (1765). By 1767, Josiah Quincy, Jr., was also rousing the people with his contributions to the *Gazette* signed "Hyperion."

Occasionally the printers found themselves in physical combat with the opposition. When John Mein became the subject of a *Gazette* article signed "Americus," he called at the printing office and demanded that Edes reveal the name of the author. Edes refused to do so, saying, "I should not have thought a Printer would have ask'd such an impertinent, improper question." Mein returned the next morning only to receive another refusal. In both instances he threatened Edes with physical violence, but Edes stood his ground, sending Mein's notoriously bad temper to such a high pitch that on the following day when he happened to meet John Gill, he promptly assaulted him. The case was tried in court with James Otis serving as Gill's attorney. Mein was found guilty, but the fine of £130 was reduced to £75 on appeal.[25]

This scuffle with a hot-headed Loyalist preceded a more severe test of the printers' rights. On February 29, 1768, the *Gazette* printed an article written by Joseph Warren, but signed "A True Patriot." Although addressed to an unnamed official, it was obviously a scathing attack on Governor Bernard. Bernard, already cloyed with insults, immediately sent a message to the Council and to the House of Representatives stating that the *Gazette* had now endangered "the existence of the Government"

[24] John Adams, *Works* (Boston, 1850), II, 178-179.

[25] This incident is fully described in John E. Alden, "John Mein: Scourge of Patriots," *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts*, XXXIV (1942), 583-586.

and requesting the serious consideration of both chambers. The Council, of course, unanimously agreed with the Governor. It called the attack "insolent," "licentious," and "subversive of all order and decorum." It assured the Governor that it would always support his dignity. The House, on the other hand, refused to conform. By a vote of 39 to 30, it informed the Governor that his apprehension of danger was an unwarranted conclusion since no person was named. It pointed out that

> The liberty of the press is a great bulwark of the liberty of the people: it is, therefore, the incumbent duty of those who are constituted the guardians of the people's rights, to defend and maintain it.[26]

The message ended by noting that the laws had already provided for the punishment of abuses by the press. When the Governor again turned to the Council, it declined to proceed with prosecution of the printers. Thereupon he ordered the Attorney-General to begin Grand Jury proceedings. The Grand Jury considered the case as well as its charge, delivered by Hutchinson as Chief Justice, a charge, it must be noted, that did not possess the rigorous impersonal quality of justice which one usually associates with such documents:

> Shall our first Magistrate be thus slandered with impunity in an *infamous* Paper?—I believe I may say thus much, without incurring the Imputation of prejudging.[27]

In the words of the Chief Justice, "I told them in almost plain words, that they might depend on being damned, if they did not find a bill."[28] The members of the jury "greatly impressed, asked the attorney-general to prepare a bill; but overnight 'Otis and his creatures'—Hutchinson's phrase—busied themselves with the jurors, and by means best known to themselves, won

[26] Richard Frothingham, *The Life and Times of Joseph Warren* (Boston, 1865), p. 43.

[27] Josiah Quincy, Jr., *Reports of Cases* (Boston, 1865), p. 266.

[28] Frothingham, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

over a narrow majority against a presentment."[29] A few days later, at a dinner to celebrate the anniversary of the repeal of the Stamp Act, fifty gentlemen at the British Coffee House drank toasts to "The *Boston Gazette* and the worthy members of the House who vindicated the freedom of the Press" and to "The worthy and independent Grand Jurors."[30]

Hutchinson hoped to reopen the case at the August term, but after he saw the composition of the new jury, he abandoned the attempt to prosecute Edes and Gill. The *Gazette*, unfazed, continued to print the stirring articles signed with pen names, but written by Josiah Quincy, Jr., Samuel Adams, and Joseph Warren, among others. In a letter written about this time, Hutchinson appeared to be resigned to his situation:

> For news I refer you to Edes and Gill. I am grown callous and all they say about me makes no impression. Otis and the two Adams, Cooper & Church go regularly every Saturday in the afternoon to set the Press. They all profess a great friendship for me. . . . The Governor told me a day or two ago that he is going to spend about a month at Brookfield while his Lady drinks the waters. This will afford a fine subject for Edes & Gill.[31]

Propaganda also appeared in other media; the Edes & Gill Almanac for 1769 began with a satire on Bernard and included an appeal to Americans to hold to the non-importation agreement. The attack on Bernard was finally won with the publication of his letters to the Earl of Hillsborough, followed by another fusillade of *Gazette* articles. In June, 1769, Bernard recommended the arrest of Edes and Gill, but to no avail.[32] Within three months, upon demand of the Council, he was recalled as Governor. It was "a standing marvel," he wrote in November, "that the Administration would not prosecute a band of printers who

[29] Arthur M. Schlesinger, "Propaganda and the Boston Newspaper Press," *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts*, XXXII (1936), 403.

[30] Quincy, *op. cit.*, p. 271.

[31] Manuscript in Massachusetts Historical Society. The aid of Dr. Stephen T. Riley, the Librarian, is gratefully acknowledged.

[32] Frothingham, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

were continually directing daggers to the heart of their mother country and sovereign state."[33]

Ably abetted by the political leaders, Edes & Gill maintained the flow of political literature. In his diary for Sunday, September 3, 1769, John Adams noted that he

> Spent the remainder of the evening and supped with Mr. Otis, in company with Mr. Adams, Mr. William Davis, and Mr. John Gill. The evening spent in preparing for the next day's newspaper,—a curious employment, cooking up paragraphs, articles, occurences, &c., working the political engine.[34]

Although the British leaders had tried to stifle the *Gazette* by stopping official advertisements, the editors received support from other sources, continuing to print for the town of Boston as well as for the House of Representatives.

One incident supplies an agreeable relief to this recital of plot and counterplot. When Abel Buell of Killingworth cast his first letters, he set a small advertisement. No appearance of this advertisement has been located, but the type was sent to the Reverend Ezra Stiles. After having a proof struck, the Rev. Mr. Stiles forwarded the type to Dr. Chauncy in Boston. Chauncy took the type to Edes & Gill, asking them for some proofs, one of which is in the Stiles Papers at Yale. It is, according to Lawrence C. Wroth, the "first American type specimen."[35]

Again, in the almanac for 1770, Edes & Gill reminded the public of the non-importation agreement. In this instance, they printed a list of the merchants who were still importing British goods. However, the most interesting feature of this almanac is the prospective view of the town of Boston for which the plate was engraved by Paul Revere at a cost, to Edes & Gill, of £2.8.0.[36] Within a few days after the Boston Massacre, Revere did more work for his fellow patriots. He engraved the five coffins which

[33] *Ibid.*

[34] John Adams, *Works* (Boston, 1850), II, 219.

[35] Lawrence C. Wroth, *The Colonial Printer* (Portland, 1938), p. 99.

[36] Elbridge H. Goss, *The Life of Colonel Paul Revere* (Boston, 1891), I, 84.

were used in the *Gazette* article about the massacre and he printed two hundred impressions of his picture of it. For the coffin engravings, he charged 6s., and for the pictures £5.[37]

The tragedy of the massacre was, of course, fully emphasized in the columns of the *Gazette*. This, plus the usual discussions of colonial problems, attracted many readers. A rough idea of the popularity of the paper can be afforded by a sentence in a letter from Hutchinson to Bernard, written August 12, 1770: "The misfortune is that seven eighths of the people read none but this infamous paper, and so are never undeceived."[38]

In August, 1770, the printing office was moved to the former shop of Kneeland & Green, "two Doors lower down Queen-Street," directly opposite the Court House.[39] Within a year Josiah Quincy, Jr., opened a new law office in the room below, a circumstance, planned or unplanned, which certainly helped to grease the wheels of the political engine.[40] The printers, busy with the machinations of the patriots and with the comparatively large circulation of their paper, still found themselves harassed for money. Collections were poor, poorer than seems possible. As late as 1770, they advertised that

> *Those persons who discontinued the* Gazette *in the year* 1764, *on Account of the Prevalence of the Small-Pox, are reminded in a particular Manner to settle their Accounts forthwith, to prevent Trouble.*[41]

Edes, now thirty-eight years old, worked night and day to increase the freedom of the colonists. After a day in the shop, there were meetings to attend: a dinner of the Sons of Liberty, a town meeting, or the North End Caucus. The Caucus sessions at William Campbell's Salutation Tavern unified the ideas and actions of the patriots. There, Samuel and John Adams, Warren,

[37] *Ibid.*, I, 75-76.
[38] William V. Wells, *Samuel Adams* (Boston, 1865), I, 244.
[39] *Boston Gazette*, Aug. 27, 1770, p. 1, col. 1.
[40] *Boston Gazette*, July 1, 1771, p. 2, col. 3.
[41] *Boston Gazette*, Supplement, Nov. 19, 1770, p. 1, col. 3.

Church, Young, among others, debated and determined policy. At least once, Edes served on a committee to communicate with the South End Caucus and the Middle District Caucus.[42] All this after a day's work in which the printing shop turned out patriotic broadsides, reports of the Committee of Correspondence, John Locke's *Essay*, and the Hutchinson *Letters* which so inflamed the populace, as well as such items as William Billings' *New-England Psalm-Singer* with its music engraved by Paul Revere.

When the tea arrived in 1773, the volunteers for the nightly watch were instructed to leave their names at the office of Edes & Gill and Edes himself joined the guard on Captain Hall's vessel.[43] As tension mounted, the office became the scene of increased activity. Finally, according to Peter Edes, one of Benjamin's ten children, a small group assembled in the Edes parlor, dressed themselves as Indians, imbibed punch out of a bowl now at the Massachusetts Historical Society, and then set out to destroy the cargo of tea.[44] It must be noted that the claims of other sites for this event may also be true. Tudor's statement that there were three different parties, if true, accounts for this conflict.[45]

The most trenchant description of Edes at this period appears in an addendum to a letter which was distributed to the officers and soldiers of His Majesty's Troops in Boston sometime in September, 1774:

> It being more than probable that the Kings standard will soon be erected, from rebellion breaking out in this province, its proper that you soldiers, should be acquainted with the authors thereof, and of all the Misfortunes brought upon the province, the following is a list of them. viz Mess. Sam-

[42] Goss, *op. cit.*, II, 638-639.

[43] Samuel A. Green, "Minutes of the Tea Meetings in 1773," *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, XX (1882), 10-14.

[44] Peter Edes, "Letter," *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, XII (1871), 175.

[45] Tudor, *op. cit.*, p. 420.

uel Adams, James Bowdoin, Dr. Thomas Young, Dr. Benjamin Church, Capt. John Bradford, Josiah Quincey, Major Nathaniel Barber, William Molleneux, John Hancock, Wm. Cooper, Dr. Chancy, Dr. Cooper, Thomas Cushing, Joseph Greenleaf, and William Denning.—The friends of your King and Country, and of America, hope and expect it from you soldiers, the instant rebellion happens, that you will put the above persons immediately to the sword, destroy their houses and plunder their effects; it is just that they should be the first victims to the mischiefs they have bro't upon us. *A Friend to Gr. Brit. & America.*

N.B. Don't forget those trumpeters of sedition, the printers Edes and Gill, and Thomas.[46]

Edes and Gill and Thomas, trumpeting sedition, did not drown out the sounds of the Loyalists. Draper's *Massachusetts Gazette*, among others, supported the British government by printing answers and attacks. In a series of papers written for the *Massachusetts Gazette*, Daniel Leonard, signing himself "Massachusettensis," presented the Loyalist point of view in a biased but witty fashion. These papers made a deep impression on John Adams, who found them wonderfully calculated "to make proselytes among those whose principles and judgment give way to their fears; and these compose at least one third of mankind."[47] Adams, observing that Leonard's work actually exerted a rather large influence, decided to reply. From December, 1774, until the Battle of Lexington, his rejoinders signed "Novanglus" became the most famous series of the *Boston Gazette*. With the "Novanglus" contributions added to their columns, Edes and Gill continued to trumpet blaring notes until the Revolution.

During twenty years of printing, publishing, and bookselling, both partners established a successful business and garnered a satisfactory competency for themselves. Ironically enough, the Revolution which they had encouraged also shattered their prosperous partnership. The *Gazette* suspended publication two

[46] *Boston Evening Post*, Sept. 19, 1774, p. 3, col. 1.

[47] John Adams, *Works* (Boston, 1850), II, 405.

days after the issue of April 17, 1775, thereby permitting the partners to separate.[48] Gill, as Thomas describes him, "was a sound whig, but did not possess the political energy of his partner."[49] He "remained in Boston during the siege; he did no business, and thought it prudent to confine himself to his own house."[50] The British, however, sought him out and in September he began 29 days in jail for printing treason, sedition, and rebellion.[51] Edes, on the other hand, elected to follow the patriot leaders. After putting a press and some type in a boat moored on the bank of the Charles, he stealthily escaped on a spring evening, rowing up the river to Watertown where he joined his political colleagues. There, in a makeshift printing office set up near the bridge, the *Boston Gazette* resumed publication with the issue of June 5, 1775. There, too, were issued military regulations, the broadsides of the Provincial Government, and the journals of the House of Representatives of the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay.

A battered press, paper made in wartime, worn type, and poor ink do not make for good printing. The Watertown productions with their imperfections remind one of the critical conditions which faced Edes. Unremittingly and courageously he followed the high road of the printer, recording and communicating the business of a Colony fighting for its freedom.

During 1775, the paper money of the Colony was engraved, but the following year, in order to reduce expenses, the government investigated the possibility of issuing printed rather than engraved currency. Edes offered to print it at less than half of Paul Revere's charge for engraving it and he was ordered to do so. The printed issue had a blank verso—"If ever there were

[48] *Boston Gazette*, Nov. 28, 1785, p. 3, col. 3.

[49] Thomas, *op. cit.*, I, 139.

[50] *Ibid.*

[51] *Boston Gazette*, Sept. 18, 1775, p. 3, col. 3.

'poverty' money, this unattractive issue answered the description."[52]

As early as April, 1776, Edes announced his plan of moving back to Boston.[53] First the move was scheduled for May, then June, then it was delayed by the smallpox in Boston until finally, on October 28, Edes issued the last *Boston Gazette* printed in Watertown. The issue of November 4 carried the announcement that the printing office had been moved to a location opposite the Court House in Queen Street.

Although the *Gazette* resumed publication under the imprint of Edes, his business connections with Gill were not completely severed. Two items printed in 1777, an oration by Benjamin Hichborn and a sermon by Samuel Webster, as well as an oration of William Tudor printed in 1779 bear the imprint of Edes & Gill. The *Gazette*, however, remained under the control of Edes. Having paid the fine for nonservice in 1776, he continued publication throughout the war, again did much of the town's official printing and again encouraged the patriots of Boston.[54] When, in 1778, Sampson Salter Blowers, a Tory, visited the town, Edes and the town clerk "gathered 'a sufficient number of choice spirits to huzza' him through the streets to jail."[55] In April of the following year, he moved his printing office to the shop previously occupied by Nathaniel Hurd, the engraver, in the back of the first brick building below the State House in State Street.[56] There, as the *Gazette* commenced its twenty-fifth year, Edes took his sons Peter and Benjamin, Jr., into the firm, thus changing its name to Benjamin Edes & Sons.[57]

[52] William B. Norton, "Paper Currency in Massachusetts During the Revolution," *New England Quarterly*, VII (1934), 57.

[53] *Boston Gazette*, April 29, 1776, p. 3, col. 2.

[54] Roberts, *op. cit.*, II, 187-188.

[55] R. S. Longley, "Mob Activities in Revolutionary Massachusetts," *New England Quarterly*, VI (1933), 129.

[56] *Boston Gazette*, April 5, 1779, p. 3, col. 2.

[57] *Ibid.*, April 12, 1779, p. 3, col. 1.

Until this time, Edes had been rather successful financially; the Taking Books of 1780 show that he was assessed on rents of £150.[58] But the rapid deterioration of continental currency created new problems for the firm, and tradesmen in particular were gravely affected. Edes, still quick to protest an inequity, served as chairman of a committee of tradesmen who accused the merchants of failing to deliver goods at the regulated prices.[59] In the columns of the *Gazette*, he attempted to continue the prerevolutionary spirit, but since his ablest guides were not available, it could not be done. Warren and Quincy were dead, Otis disabled, John and Samuel Adams engaged in affairs of state. The circulation of the paper began to fall. In 1782 the printing office was moved to Cornhill and two years later Peter Edes left the firm to start his own.[60] In 1787, the shop was moved to 49 Marlborough Street, only to move to 7 State Street nine months later.[61] One can only guess the financial difficulties which prompted these shifts. In spite of adversity, Edes remained the patriot, proud that, in 1788, the *Gazette* "is printed with Ink manufactur'd in this town; and a great part of it, with Types lately cast in Philadelphia."[62]

His fellow printers recognized his patriotic services at appropriate times. In the grand procession to celebrate the ratification of the Constitution, the craftsmen included the printers, "Preceded by Mr. B. Edes, To the number of 15, with a stand drawn on a sled, and compositors at work, and three ranks displaying their composing Sticks."[63] And in the procession in hon-

[58] "Assessors' 'Taking Books' of the Town of Boston, 1780," *Bostonian Society Publications*, IX (1912), 35.

[59] Benjamin Edes, "To the Merchants, &c. of the Town of Boston" (MS. in Massachusetts Historical Society).

[60] *Boston Gazette*, Feb. 18, 1782, p. 2, col. 3; Nov. 1, 1784, p. 3, col 3.

[61] *Ibid.*, Sept. 10, 1787, p. 1, col. 1; June 9, 1788, p. 3, col. 3.

[62] *Ibid.*, Nov. 24, 1788, p. 3, col. 3.

[63] *Ibid.*, Feb. 11, 1788, p. 3, cols. 1-3.

or of Washington's 1789 visit, the delegation of printers, bookbinders, and stationers was led by Benjamin Edes.[64]

By 1790 his financial reputation was such that he could not be considered a satisfactory bondsman.[65] The *Gazette* no longer represented the influential leaders; its decline continued. During the previous years, Edes bitterly opposed some features of the Constitution while its adoption was being discussed. And in the final years, the *Gazette* appears extremely disappointing when compared with the earlier issues. Edes, it seems, needed the advice and encouragement of Warren, Otis, Quincy, John and Samuel Adams. Without them, his contentious spirit lacked intellectual control. "The funding bill, Jay's treaty, indeed all the great salutary measures of the first twelve years under the Constitution, he ridiculed, satirized, and denounced with every variety of contemptuous expression."[66]

In 1792 the *Gazette* was moved, for the last time, to Kilby Street.[67] Two years later, Benjamin, Jr., left his father to manage the *Gazette* alone.[68] It was a losing battle; the public no longer gave the *Gazette* the support it needed. From time to time, Edes begged for support, calling attention to his past services:

> But with *confidence* he can appeal to his Countrymen, whether he did not stand an undaunted Centinel in those times which "tried men's souls"?—at times, when the hope of gain could not be considered as the lure to pretended Patriotism.[69]

By 1797 circulation had fallen from the two thousand of revolutionary days to four hundred.[70] Another appeal appeared, but

[64] *Ibid.*, Oct. 26, 1789, p. 3, col. 2.

[65] *Selectmen's Minutes from 1787 Through 1798* (Boston, 1896), p. 132.

[66] Delano A. Goddard, *Newspapers and Newspaper Writers in New England, 1787-1815* (Boston, 1880), pp. 14-15.

[67] *Boston Gazette*, April 16, 1792, p. 3, col. 1.

[68] *Ibid.*, June 30, 1794, p. 3, col. 3.

[69] *Ibid.*, March 16, 1795, p. 3, col. 1.

[70] *Ibid.*, Jan. 2, 1797, p. 3, cols. 1-2.

the aged printer finally realized that he could not continue. The final issue, September 17, 1798, contained the editor's farewell. In it he pointed to his patriotic services and to his stand alongside Adams, Hancock, and Warren. The concluding paragraphs are still impressive and inspiring:

> But, alas! the cause of Liberty is not always the channel of preferment or pecuniary reward. The little property which he acquired has long since fell a sacrifice;—the *paper-evidences* of his services were soon consumed by their rapid depreciation, and the cares of a numerous family were too powerful to be resisted, though he fed them with property at *four shillings and sixpence in the pound*, which he faithfully and industriously earned at *twenty shillings*.
>
> However, it is beneath a patriot to mourn his own misfortunes. The Independence of America being obtained, he enjoys the pleasing contemplation, that the *same virtuous sentiments* which led to the *acquisition* will not cease to operate for its *continuance*—That his fellow-citizens will ever revere the First Principles of the Revolution; and it is his earnest prayer to Heaven, that the Rising Generation will remember the exertions of Their Fathers, in opposing the lawless attempts of Britain for their subjugation.
>
> Let the citizens of America Reverence Themselves. Let them strive to maintain the Republican Principles of their own Constitution; and while practising these duties, we may trust to the Guardian Angel, which has conducted us through dangers, the most alarming and distressing.
>
> And now, my Fellow-Citizens, I bid you FAREWELL! Maintain your Virtue—Cherish your Liberties—and may The Almighty protect and defend you.[71]

Edes stayed on at the Kilby Street shop doing job printing and turning out an occasional pamphlet. This soon ceased to be profitable. About 1800, he moved his equipment to his home in Temple Street. In 1801, Joseph T. Buckingham called on him there

> at his printing-room, and found him at work on a small job at the case, while an elderly female (probably one of his daughters) was at the press, striking off shop-bills. The venerable form of the old man, setting types

[71] Buckingham, *op. cit.*, I, 203-204.

"with spectacles on nose," and the singular sight of a woman, *beating and pulling* at the press, together with the aspect of destitution, that pervaded the whole apartment, presented a scene well adapted to excite sympathy, and to make an impression on the mind, which the vicissitudes of fifty years have not effaced.[72]

Thus he worked on shop-bills and printing for the town of Boston. Shortly, however, his health declined and he passed away on December 10, 1803, "after a long and distressing illness."[73]

In accordance with the custom that still holds today, his fellow-printers saw to it that proper obituaries were prepared, one declaring

> British gold, lost its influence on the incorrupted mind of Mr. Edes. He spurned the repeated propositions made to him by those myrmidons of Bernard and Hutchinson, the Tories of that day, to seduce him from the paths of rectitude and patriotism. *He determined to stand or fall with the Liberties of his Country.*[74]

Another described the funeral:

> On Thursday last, the remains of the aged Patriot, Benjamin Edes, were attended to the grave by a numerous & respectable procession of his fellow-citizens. The "Massachusetts Charitable Society," of which he was a member, and the "Franklin Society," of young men of his proffession, paid their filial respects to their venerable Father. This attention was gratifying to those who venerate the principles of Republicanism, and gave a pleasing evidence that the spirit which formerly actuated the Freemen of Boston was not diminished.[75]

In his will, he left the Temple Street house and land to his wife, a font of Long Primer to his son Peter, and he ordered the remainder of his personal property sold for payment of debts. The printing equipment, consisting of one press, cases, stands,

[72] Buckingham, *op. cit.*, I, 205.

[73] *Independent Chronicle*, Dec. 15, 1803, p. 2, col. 4. The date of death is the date on record at Boston City Hall.

[74] *Independent Chronicle*, Dec. 15, 1803, p. 2, col. 4.

[75] *Independent Chronicle*, Dec. 19, 1803, p. 3, col. 2.

chases, galleys, and type was sold at auction on May 11, 1804.[76] On May 21, 1804, his house and land were auctioned.[77] And so the entire estate, appraised at $3,276.16, was dispersed.

When the Franklin Typographical Association assembled two months after his death, they paid tribute to the trumpeter of sedition. They drank a toast to

> Benjamin Edes—the lately deceased Sire of our art—His *form* is *off* and in the *case;* but the many *tokens* he gave for his country's good will be held in grateful remembrance.[78]

[76] *Columbian Centinel,* May 2, 1804, p. 3, col. 3.
[77] *Ibid.,* May 16, 1804, p. 3, col. 3.
[78] *Philadelphia Gazette,* Jan. 30, 1804, p. 3, col. 5.

Bibliographical Notes

A Census of the Owners of Copies of the 1687 First Edition of Newton's "Principia"

While the *Principia* is generally acknowledged to be one of the world's greatest books, the 1687 first edition of Newton's masterpiece was undoubtedly a small one. W. W. R. Ball believed that it comprised "perhaps not more than 250 copies,"[1] although other authorities say that there is no real evidence of this exact number. Mr. A. N. L. Munby thinks that the whole edition cannot have been "less than 300 copies and that the total may have been 100 more than this."[2] At any rate, the edition was sold out by 1691, and Cotes states in his preface to the 1713 second edition (which was delayed by Newton's going to the Mint and by the publication of his *Opticks*) that "copies of the previous edition were very scarce and held at high prices." It is quite remarkable that so many copies of this small first edition are still in existence, after 266 years; but it may be because the original Latin text was more revered than read.

Some sheets of the first edition were bound with the uncancelled title having the two-line "apud plures Bibliopolas" imprint, and some with the cancel title bearing the three-line "apud Sam. Smith" imprint.[3] Although I have proved that there was only one printing of the text, it has been common practice to call the "plures" copies the "first issue" and the "Smith" copies the "reissue"; and now Mr. Munby has produced strong evidence[4] that the "plures" copies *were distributed first.* This evidence should stand until we can find a "Smith" copy with an inscription as early as July 13, 1687, as No. 7 "plures" is dated. (See No. 115.) Dr. Henry Zeitlinger has suggested that many of the "Smith" copies may

[1] W. W. R. Ball, *Essay on Newton's Principia* (London, 1893), p. 67.

[2] *Notes and Records of the Royal Society*, X (October 1952), 28. Mr. Munby's paper, "The Distribution of the First Edition of Newton's *Principia*," is a most important contribution.

[3] *Isis*, XLII (October 1951), 230.

[4] *Notes and Records*, p. 32.

have been sent to the continent and bound in Dutch vellum, as Smith was an exporter.

On publication, about July 5, 1687, Halley set the price of the *Principia*, bound in calf, at 9 shillings, according to his letter to Newton now in King's College Library. In 1937, the Lord Halifax copy No. 150 was sold by Sotheran for £250 and in November 1950 the Wilmerding copy No. 144 brought the record price of $1,500 at auction in New York, although it had no exceptional features. Both of these had the "plures" imprint.

It is known that Halley presented copies for Newton to King James II, to Robert Boyle, and to Edward Paget, but the present location of these copies has not been traced. Possibly the only contemporary review of the *Principia* was that by Halley published in *Philosophical Transactions*, XVI (1687), No. 186; at the end of this critique he apologized for the delay in publishing the *Transactions*, which was due to his being entirely occupied. in publishing the *Principia*. In presenting a copy of the *Principia* to King James, Halley accompanied it with a paper giving a general account of the book and more especially of the tides, a subject in which the King was likely to be interested.[5] (See No. 13.)

In this census, I have endeavored to identify each copy by bookplates or autographs of former owners and other special features, variations or errors, so that if it were ever lost or stolen, it could easily be recognized. Notation is made of copies having the "Smith" imprint. All others are understood to have the "plures" imprint. The item number prefixed to each copy is simply to locate it in this census, and neither appears in the book itself nor has any relation to its precedence, or value.

Most generous assistance has been given me by Mr. A. N. L. Munby, Librarian of King's College, Cambridge; by Dr. L. W. Hanson of the Bodleian Library; by Professor E. N. daC. Andrade of London; by Dr. F. E. Brasch of Stanford University Library (on whose Survey in *Scripta Mathematica*, March 1952, p. 63, my work is primarily based); by M. René Taton of Paris; and by Professor G. F. Shirras of Ballater, Scotland. My grateful acknowledgments go to them and to many librarians and collectors throughout the world for their help in reporting on their copies. A total of 189 copies have been located, of which only 46 have the "Smith" imprint. There are 124 copies in Europe, 63 copies in America and one each in South Africa and Australia.

[5] Stephen P. Rigaud, *Historical Essay on the First Publication of Newton's Principia* (Oxford, 1838), p. 77.

ENGLAND

BAKEWELL, *Derby*

Chatsworth Library of the Duke of Devonshire

(1) With bookplate of the first Duke of Devonshire. Red morocco, gilt edges and tooling.

BRISTOL, *Gloucester*

Clifton College, Percival Library

(2) No details obtained regarding this "plures" copy.

CAMBRIDGE

Caius College Library

(3) M.19.14. "E libris Joannis Hailstone, Sept. 17. 1776." Contemporary calf, rebacked.

Christ's College Library

(4) 4.3.28. "ex dono Tho. Standish." Contemporary panelled calf. Fleuron at corner panel has initials I W (cf. J. B. Oldham, *Shrewsbury School Library Bindings*, p. 106).

Clare College Library

(5) P:5.12. "ffortescue": "B. Gordan" (erased): "C. Morgan Aul. Clar. D. Dedit Cornelius Crownfield Acad. Cantabr. Typographus." Note of gift to Clare by Morgan in 1736. Early panelled calf.

Corpus Christi College Library

(6) M.8.4. College bookplate dated 1701. Late 18th-century calf.

Emmanuel College Library

(7) 305.5.15. Inscribed "ex dono Authoris . . . Julii 13tio 1687" (not in Newton's hand). This is the earliest known dated inscription. Contemporary panelled calf.

King's College Library

(8) M.12.24. Inscribed "Legavit Georgius Whitton, A.M. Hujus Collegii nuper Socius. Obiit Cal. Dec. A.D. 1695." Contemporary panelled calf. Plate of comet missing.

(9) Keynes Collection I. "Smith" imprint. "Thomas Stewart, Rome, 1837." Contemporary Italian vellum. Has plate of comet.

(10) Keynes II. With names of Martin Folkes, President of the Royal Society; William Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury; Sir Robert Peel; and bookplate of C. H. Hoare. (Sold by Samuel Balzer, lot 3172, in February 1765, for only 4s.) Contemporary red morocco.

(11) Keynes III. No signs of provenance. Modern pigskin.

(12) Keynes IV. "Smith" imprint. Bookplate of J. L. E. Dreyer. Entirely uncut. With plate of comet and errata leaf. Offered in Sotheran's Catalogue 804, 1927, item 3628, at £42. Purchased by Keynes in 1936 for £85. Modern half-calf.

Magdalene College Library

(13) Pepys No. 1866. Has armorial stamp of Samuel Pepys (P.R.S.) on covers and his bookplates. Contains six leaves with unrecorded first printing of Halley's presen-

tation address to James II bound in at end. (See *Notes and Records of the Royal Society*, October, 1952, p. 33.) Contemporary calf, gilt spine.

Newnham College Library

(14) No signs of provenance. Contemporary panelled calf, with I W fleurons (cf. Christ's College copy).

Pembroke College Library

(15) 13.2.49. Has printed label: "Ex dono Henrici Cressener A.M. Coll. Soc. 1705." Contemporary panelled calf.

Philosophical Library

(16) "Smith" imprint. On permanent loan from Christ's College to the Mathematical Faculty Library, which is housed in the Philosophical Library. Label of C. L. Smith gift, 1860. Nineteenth-century calf.

Queens' College Library

(17) H.5.8. College bookplate dated 1700. Rebound calf, about 1800.

St. Catharine's College Library

(18) Ja.41.20. Inscribed "John Folcher": "W. West's 1746": "Dni Thomae M-r-lli hic liber olim fuit. Empt. Dno Maunder pret a-h-a": "Tho. Jaretti 1821." Contemporary panelled calf, rebacked.

St. John's College Library

(19) Ms. note at top of title: "*Philos. Trans.* n. 186. p. 291. [The review of the *Principia*] Ex dono chariss: amici Roberti Hitch armig: anno dom. 1687." Bookplate of Thomas Kirke, Esq., whose initials appear on title and at the end of the errata, which have been corrected in the text. Given to the College Library in 1922 by John Brill, formerly a Fellow, who bought it from William Tomlin, a Cambridge bookseller, who had it from Stephen Parkinson (d. 1889), a Fellow of St. John's. Plate of comet at p. 498 and errata leaf at p. 510. Contemporary calf, rebacked.

(20) "Smith" imprint. At bottom of the title, ms. initials: "T.O.S.M.V.O." On reverse at bottom is stamped: "Theodorus Balthasar." Bookplate of Isaac Todhunter, whose widow gave it to the Library in 1896. Plate of comet at p. 490 and errata leaf at p. 510. Contemporary vellum.

Sidney Sussex College, Taylor Library

(21) I.G.6. No signs of provenance. Contemporary panelled calf.

Trinity College Library

(22) Copy I. Adv.b.1.5. Inscribed "Trin:Coll:Cant:1687. Ex dono Authoris." Notes and corrections in Newton's hand. With plate of comet. P^4 a cancel; on p. 11 last line begins "ordinatim." Contemporary panelled calf.

(23) Copy II. Adv.b.1.6. Copy given by Newton to John Locke, with some corrections in Newton's hand. Inscribed: "Liber Johannis Locke ex Dono Acutissimi Authoris. Qui errores propia manu correxit." Contemporary calf, rebacked.

(24) Copy III. Adv.b.2.1. Richard Bentley's copy, inscribed "R. Bentley," but not a present from Newton because it has a code price for the cost of the book and the binding in Bentley's hand. Also inscribed: "Dedit Samuel Cheetham 1887." Contemporary calf.

(25) Copy IV. Adv.c.1.10. Inscribed: "This Book was John Smith's—the father of Dr. Robert Smith": Legavit R. Smith, Master 1768." P^4 uncancelled; p. 111, last line begins ACQ. Contemporary calf, repaired.

(26) Copy V. C.15.158. No signs of provenance. Eighteenth-century calf.

(27) Copy VI. C.15.159. Profusely annotated, but apparently not in hand either of Newton or Cotes. Inscribed: "Dr Burdell communicated his Thoughts to Sr Isaac, on ye first Edition of this Book; on which He made These Corrections and Alterations." "W.S" : "E. Lib: Gul. Evetts e Coll; Si. Trin : Ox : 1729." "Legavit W. W. Rouse Ball 1925." P^4 a cancel; p. 111, last line begins "ordinatim." Modern morocco.

(28) Copy VII. NQ.16.200. Newton's own copy, with Huggins & Barnsley "Philosophemur" bookplates. Manuscript notes in Newton's hand. P^4 a cancel; p. 111, last line begins "ordinatim." Contemporary panelled calf.

University Library

(29) Copy I. Adams 5.68.3. Bookplate of Richard Townley, dated 1702. Presented by J. C. Adams. Contemporary calf, rebacked.

(30) Copy II. Adv.b.39.1. Newton's own copy, interleaved and copiously annotated. Early 18th-century calf, uncut.

(31) Copy III. Syn.5.68.1. From library of John Moore, Bishop of Ely. Presented to the University by George I, 1715. Contemporary calf, rebacked.

(32) Copy IV. Syn.5.68.5. "Smith" imprint. Inscribed: "Fridericus von Bursenald." Presented by James J. Stirling, 1917. Foreign vellum.

Whipple Museum of Science Library

(33) "Smith" imprint. Inscribed: "Christianus Ludovicus Schnetterus Comparavit Londini Ao. 1722." Foreign vellum.

The *Bibliography of the Works of Sir Isaac Newton* by George J. Gray, 1907, p. 6, describes a copy:

(34) "Smith" imprint. Bound in red morocco, with sides and back elaborately tooled and inlaid with dark green leather, with a leather label inside the cover reading: "Ex Dono Sam:Smith Bibliop. Lond." This should furnish sufficient identification. Location not known.

CANTERBURY

Canterbury Cathedral Chapter Library

(35) V.ii.10 in printed catalogue of 1802. Removed to new library about 1867. Entered in ms. catalogue of 1889. The library was blown up by a 1,000-pound German bomb on June 1, 1942, but the books had been removed to storage, where they still are, until the new library is completed late in 1953. Until then, it cannot be checked.

HORSHAM, *Sussex*

Christ's Hospital Library

(36) After the first World War, their copy was sold at auction by Sotheby. Present location not known.

LEEDS

University of Leeds, the Brotherton Library

(37) Gift of All Souls' College, Oxford, in 1926. Has All Souls' bookplate, and title has All Souls' stamp. Contemporary calf.

LONDON

Professor Edward Neville daCosta Andrade, formerly Director of the Royal Institution

(38) With armorial bookplate of "The Most Noble Wriothesley Duke of Bedford, 1703." Has plate of comet. Contemporary calf.

(39) "Smith" imprint. Contemporary inscription: "Lib Jacobi Peiced (?) Lugd. Bat. (Leyden) const. f." [Peirce was an English student of theology who was at the Univ. of Leyden in 1695.] Modern inscription: "William Paley Anderson B.D. (late Fellow of Emman:Coll: Cambridge)." Has plate of comet. Dutch vellum. [See *Endeavor*, XII [April 1953], 68, for a description of Andrade's fine Newton Collection.]

Athenaeum Library, Pall Mall

(40) Title has autograph of "M. Maty" (1718-76. According to DNB, his books were sold by Benjamin White in 1777.) Flyleaf inscribed: "F. Maseres, Aug. 4, 1780." Also: "A Gift of Baron Maseres to J. Hellins."

British Museum Library

(41) C.58.h.4. "Smith" imprint. Has no bookplates or autographs. The inner edge of excised title page is still present. Old sprinkled calf, rebacked.

Davis & Orioli

(42) Catalogue 125, 1946, item 309, £130. "Smith" imprint. Has errata leaf and plate of comet. Contemporary calf. Location not known.

Wm. Dawson & Sons, Ltd.

(43) "Smith" imprint. With autographs of "Alex. Napier" and "Arnold Walker (1887)." Offered in 1952 at £200. Contemporary calf.

Lord Kennet of the Dene

(44) Has illegible name on title, with 18th-century date. Contemporary calf, hinges renewed.

Bernard Quaritch, Ltd.

(45) Copy sold to de Puy May 24, 1917.

(46) Copy offered in Catalogue 565, 1939, item 957, £95. With plate of comet. Tear in two leaves repaired. Contemporary calf, rebacked.

(47) Copy offered in Catalogue 644, 1947, item 262, £185. Sold to Nicolle, January 26, 1948. Remarkable for having both the cancelled and the cancel P^4. On the verso of the cancelled leaf, the diagram is printed upside down. (See also Nos. 122 and 148.) With plate of comet. Some early writing on verso of title. Contemporary calf.

(48) Copy offered in Centenary Catalogue 1947, item 139, £165. Imprint not stated. With plate of comet. Upper corners of some leaves water-stained. Contemporary vellum.

The present location of these copies is not known.

Royal Astronomical Society Library, Burlington House

(49) Presented to the Society by Dr. John Lee, April 20, 1826. Title has signature of "D. Brodie" and in ms. "Sackville Cross 1697."

(50) Bequeathed to the Society by E. H. Grove-Hills in 1923 and with his bookplate inside front cover. Bound in front is a copy of Fontenelle's *Life of Newton.*

Royal College of Physicians Library, Pall Mall

(51) "Smith" imprint. Purchased in 1930 from Dr. John Poynton. Has signatures on flyleaves of Grüner; G. Hodering, Göttingae, 1733; T. Feldhoff, Osnabruck, 1828; and Leblois.

Royal Society Library, Burlington House

(52) With Society's modern bookplate on inside front cover and stamped on title: "Soc. Reg. Lond." Rebound in full dark green morocco in late 19th century.

(53) This is the copy presented by Newton to Flamsteed, with the latter's annotations. Title has ms. inscription: "Ex dono Amici Autuoures J. fflamsteed." Society's bookplate on inside front cover. "Soc. Reg. Lond." stamped on title. Rebound in red cloth, brown morocco back and corners.

Science Museum Library, South Kensington

(54) 521.1. "Smith" imprint. "Ex Libris de Richard Lugdunensis. Nodiè ex libris Robin-duvernay ainé, 1812 à 1856." Plate of comet missing. Errata leaf at p. 510. Contemporary calf.

Sotheby & Co. Sale of July 7, 1952

(55) Lot 167. Plate of comet at p. 496 and errata leaf at end. Many ms. annotations in an old hand. Sold to Dr. Jacob Schwartz for £195. Contemporary mottled calf.

Henry Sotheran, Ltd.

(56) Copy offered in Catalogue 804 (1927), item 3627, £35. With autograph of "Alex. Napier," editor of Boswell's *Johnson.* Has errata leaf but plate of comet missing. Contemporary calf, rebacked. Location not known.

(57) Copy offered in the same catalogue, item 3628, $42. "Smith" imprint. With armorial bookplate of J. L. E. Dreyer. Has plate of comet and errata leaf. Rebound in new half-calf, antique. Location not known.

Sir Louis S. Sterling

(58) With armorial bookplate of "Sr Thos Taylor Bart." With plate of comet. Contemporary calf.

University College Library, Gower St.

(59) Has bookplate of "John T. Graves, M.A., F.R.S." who bequeathed it to the College in 1870. He was Professor of Jurisprudence there from 1838 to 1843.

University of London Library, Senate House

(60) Formerly belonged to Augustus De Morgan and has his signature on title. Ms. notes in 18th-century hand on flyleaves and initials "G.F.W." Errata leaf at end and plate of comet facing p. 497. Contemporary calf.

Dr. Ernest Weil

(61) Catalogue 19, 1952, item 227, £225. No signs of provenance. With plate of comet. Early 19th-century half-calf.

Wellcome Historical Medical Museum Library, Portman Sq.

(62) No signs of provenance. Pages 461-464 are misbound between pages 456-457. Recently rebound in calf.

MANCHESTER

Chetham's Library

(63) No signs of provenance. Nineteenth-century half-calf.

John Rylands Library

(64) No signs of provenance, but it was in the Spencer (Althorp) Library purchased by Mrs. Rylands in 1892. Late 18th-century polished calf, green label, red edges.

Manchester College Library

(65) Has autograph of "Henry Winder, 1726," and bookplate of the Unitarian Chapel, Renshaw St., Liverpool. Contemporary panelled calf.

Manchester Literary & Philosophical Society Library

(66) Their copy was lost when their entire library was destroyed during the German air raids of 1940.

Public Reference Library

(67) Autograph of "Tho. Randolph, C.C.C., Jan: 20, 1735/36" on flyleaf. Purchased from the executors of Mr. Joseph Whitehead, June 21, 1904. Recently rebound.

OXFORD

Bodleian Library

(68) Copy I. Ashm.F.21. "Smith" imprint. Heraldic bookplate, showing Aubrey's crest and motto, drawn with pen in sepia ink, mounted inside front cover. On front flyleaf "Sum Johis Aubrij R.S.S. Ex dono Honoratiss. Thomae Comitis Pembrochiae & Montgom: &c. April 22. 1690." On title "Munsaeo Ashmoleano dedit V.C.D. Joh. Aubrey S.R.S." Transferred to the Bodleian in 1858. Errata leaf at p. 570, and plate of comet at p. 496. Contemporary English sprinkled calf.

(69) Copy II. 4°. Z 22 Art. No marks of ownership. Acquired after 1738. Errata and comet as in copy I and same binding.

(70) Copy III. 4°. Z 23 Art. On title: "Nicolaus Fatius Duillierius." On front flyleaf: (in the hand of Fatio) "N. Fatius Duillierius; ex dono Cl. Hallaei Societati regiae a Secretis. Londini anno 1687." and "Multa ex iis quae in hoc Exemplari adnottaveram in Secundam & Tertiam Editionem Newtonus inseruit; multa vero neglexit. Cujus etiam manu nonulla, ad paginam tertiam & alibi forsan, conscripta sunt. Volebam quoque Corrigenda ex ipso Newtoni Codice ad hujusce Exemplaris finem addere, Martii 13, 1689/90: Sed aliis occupatus negotiis, & brevi Hollandian profecturus, istud intermisi facere."

Elsewhere are copious marginal notes, corrections and additions in Fatio's hand. Mounted on the front flyleaf is "An abstract of the Act of Parliament (1713/14?) concerning the discovery of the Longitude" etc. Errata and comet as copy I and same binding.

(71) Copy IV. Savile G.7. Printed label: "Bibliotheca Saviliana Oxon" on inside of front cover. Added to the Savilian Library through Dr. John Wallis. Savilian Professor of Geometry 1649-1704. Came under Bodleian control in 1884. Errata and comet as in copy I and same binding.

(72) Copy V. Savile Mm.d.165. Printed label of Savilian Library, as in copy IV. Old pressmark suggests that it was added to the Savilian Library by purchase or gift in the 19th century. Came to the Bodleian with copy IV in 1884. Comet and errata as in copy I. Contemporary calf.

Christ Church College Library

(73) Inscribed: "C. Lloyd e dono W. Coine." Contemporary panelled red morocco.

Corpus Christi College Library

(74) No signs of provenance. Apparently came direct into this Library. Contemporary calf.

Hertford College Library

(75) "Smith" imprint. Has the stamp of Magdalene Hall Library (Magdalene Hall was incorporated in Hertford College in 1874). Panelled mottled calf, rebacked.

Jesus College Library

(76) No signs of provenance. Contemporary calf.

Magdalen College Library

(77) No signs of provenance. Contemporary calf.

Merton College Library

(78) Has no bookplate or other identification, but has been in this Library for many years, as it has been recatalogued five times. Has both the plate of comet and the errata leaf. Contemporary calf, with the mark of once being chained.

New College Library

(79) With New College bookplate. Contemporary calf.

The Queen's College Library

(80) Inscribed: "Hunc Librum Taberdarijs D D Tim: Halton S.T.P. Hujus Coll. Praepositus Dignissimus." Halton was Provost of Queen's from 1677 to 1704. With errata leaf and plate of comet. Contemporary calf, repaired.

Mr. F. J. H. Sanders, Salutation House

(81) "Smith" imprint. Has no bookplates or autographs, but has errata leaf and plate of comet. Contemporary calf, with slight repairs at top of spine.

IRELAND (EIRE)

DUBLIN

Marsh's Library

(82) PI.4.3. "Smith" imprint. Originally in the library of Bishop Stillingfleet. In 1705 it was given to Marsh's Library by its founder, Archbishop Narcissus Marsh. Has no bookplates or autographs. Contemporary calf.

Trinity College Library

(83) Title has signature of "St. Geo. Ashe," who entered Trinity in 1671, aged about 14, and was later Fellow, Provost, Vice-Chancellor, and F.R.S. Rebound in 1897, but with original covers with blind stamping and gilt escutcheon of St. George Ashe.

SCOTLAND

ABERDEEN

University Library

(84) Title has signature of "J. Tulloch," Professor of Mathematics at King's College, who bequeathed his books to King's College Library in 1851. Contemporary calf.

(85) "Smith" imprint. No indications of former owners. Acquired in first half of 18th century. Contemporary calf.

EDINBURGH

New College Library

(86) Inscribed on title: "I. H. Ameldring d [edit?]" in 17th- or 18th-century hand. Errata leaf precedes Ooo^4. Contemporary vellum, gilt.

Royal College of Physicians Library

(87) No signs of provenance. Newton presented some books to this Library and may have given this, but there is no proof. Has errata leaf. Contemporary calf, blind stamped on spine.

Royal Observatory Library, Blackford Hill

(88) No bookplate except their own. No signs of provenance. Bought from a Cambridge dealer about 1900 for 42 shillings. Contemporary calf. Pencil note says that binding and hinge were repaired in 1888.

Signet Library, Parliament Square

(89) Cancelled P^4. Plate of comet at p. 497. 18th-19th-century polished calf, with gilt stamp of Society of Writers to the Signet in center of each board.

University Library

(90) OX20.28. Inscribed: "Liber Bibliothecae Edinburgenae" in hand of Robert Henderson, late 17th-century Librarian of the University. A few ms. notes in hand of Prof. John Robison. With Ooo^4 blank and errata leaf. Nineteenth-century calf, blind-stamped "Edinburgh," rebacked.

(91) Zf.4.25. Owners' names on title: "James Johnston 1806" and "P. G. Tait from Dr Findlater 16/7/83." Donation bookplate: "Presented by the family of the late Prof. Peter Guthrie Tait." Lacks Ooo^4 blank, but has errata leaf which is marked "Corriguntur." Contemporary calf, rebacked.

(92) D.S.C.2.2. "Smith" imprint. Autograph ownership inscription: "Dugald Stewart," has been inset in new end papers. Lacks Ooo^4 blank, but has errata leaf. Contemporary calf, rebacked.

GLASGOW

Glasgow Corporation, Mitchell Library

(93) No signs of provenance. Contemporary calf.

Glasgow University, Hunterian Collection

(94) Bequeathed by William Hunter (d. 1783). Ms. note on title: "Ex dono Authoris." Contemporary calf, blind tooled. No lettering on spine.

University Library

(95) Ea.7.b.10. No bookplate, but copy was property of Prof. Robert Simson, M.D., Professor of Mathematics at Glasgow from 1711 to 1760. The plate on p. 22 was printed upside down and a corrected diagram in ink has been pasted over it. [Only other example is No. 139.] Heavily annotated throughout in 18th-century hand. Contemporary calf, blind tooled. No lettering on spine.

Royal Technical College Library, George St.

(96) Flyleaf inscribed "John Hotson, 12.2.[18]49 / 7th." Reverse of title marked "Uzo L." Errata leaf faces p. 510. Plate of comet missing. Contemporary calf.

ST. ANDREWS

University Library

(97) "Smith" imprint. Has bookplate of "John Robison" and "John Stedman, M.D." and Robison's signature on title.

(98) Presented by the children of J. D. Forbes. Errata leaf at end. In both copies, p. 51 has sig. G^2 for H^2 and p. 267 Kk^2 for Ll^2.

AUSTRIA

GRAZ

Universitätsbibliothek

(99) "Smith" imprint. Title has two autograph inscriptions: "Max Sig. Grf von Herberstein" and "Catalogo Collegij S.J. Graecij inscriptus anno 1743." Contemporary parchment.

BELGIUM

BRUSSELS (UCCLE-BRUXELLES)

Bibliothèque de l'Observatoire Royal de Belgique

(100) Title is inscribed "Ex libris Johannis Senebier" (1742-1809) and flyleaf has seal of "Bibliothèque publique de Genève," surcharged "Annulé, B.P." The plate of comet is at the front, and the errata leaf appears *in duplicate* at the end.

LOUVAIN

Bibliothèque de la Collège Philosophique et Théologique de la Compagnie de Jésus, Eegenhoven

(101) Autograph of first owner has been cut out and is not legible. Has been in Jesuit possession for the past one hundred years. Errata leaf follows p. 510, and the plate of comet is at p. 496. Contemporary panelled calf.

DENMARK

COPENHAGEN

University Library

(102) Autograph on edge of title has been cut out. Has the bookplate of the Gottorp Library, with arms in cartouche. This Library was founded in 1606 by Duke Johan Adolf, and was taken to the Royal Library in Copenhagen in 1749. Some years ago,

this book was transferred to the University Library. About the end of the 18th century it was rebound in marbled calf, now rather damaged.

FRANCE

PARIS

Bibliothèque de la Sorbonne

(103) R ra 164. "Smith" imprint. Inscribed "College Louis le Grand." Contemporary calf.

Bibliothèque de le Conservatoire des Arts et Metiers

(104) Y 19. "Ex Bibl. Couvent. Et. Coll. Regii Carmelit. Paris." Contemporary calf.

Bibliothèque de l'Observatoire de Paris

(105) 20053. "Smith" imprint. With bookplate of L'Observatoire Impérial. Dedicated by Halley to Jean-Dominique Cassini (1625-1712): "Spectatissimo Domino Dno Joh. Dominico Cassini Grati animi tessaram Humillime offert Edm. Halley." L'ex-libris de Cassini. Contemporary calf.

Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France, Académie des Sciences

(106) M 144^{A}. "Smith" imprint. Has monogram on title: "CM." Second flyleaf is signed: "De la Lande," with annotations. Contemporary parchment.

Bibliothèque Nationale, Département des Imprimés

(107) Rés.m.V.236. Has plate of comet following Halley's verse. Inscribed: "L. F. Corfei maj." and stamped with his coat of arms. (Lambert Friedrich von Corfey, 1668-1733). Also is inscribed: "Collège des Jésuites de Cologne 1705." Contemporary calf.

(108) Rés.m.V.237. Plate of comet is at the end. Has only the stamp of the Bibliothèque du Roi. Contemporary marbled calf.

Monsieur Delaporte

(109) No details.

GERMANY

BERLIN

Öffentlichen Wissenschaftlichen Bibliothek

(110) A copy formerly belonging to this Library was carried off into Polish Silesia during the second World War, and has disappeared behind the Iron Curtain.

HANNOVER

Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek

(111) Sign.IV 4,305. "Smith" imprint. Has autograph of Gerardus Molanus, Abbot of Loccum, who knew Leibnitz. Acquired by this Library about 1728. On inner cover Molanus wrote: "Maa donum Dni Meckij Londino missum . . . Habet 117 schemata." Contemporary parchment.

MARBURG / LAHN

Westdeutsche Bibliothek

(112) 4°Mv.F863. A copy belonging to this Library was transferred to the

Preussische Staatsbibliothek in Berlin and now has disappeared behind the Iron Curtain.

THE NETHERLANDS

AMSTERDAM

Universiteits Bibliotheek

(113) 276D28. Has no bookplates or autographs. Contemporary calf, repaired.

LEIDEN

Rijksuniversiteit Bibliotheek

(114) Has bookplate: "Ex Bibliotheca Viri Illust. Isaaci Vossü. 5." Nineteenth-century half cloth.

NIJMEGEN

Berchmanianum, Houtlaan 4

(115) "Smith" imprint. With autograph: "Ex libris Adriani Vérwer. 1687." (This is the earliest known dated inscription in a "Smith" copy.) In the same hand at the end of the book is an "Index rerum" of 3 pp., an "Index propositionum Libri III" of 1 page, and some marginal annotations. Contemporary paper board and vellum.

SWEDEN

LIDKÖPING

Dr. Erik Waller

(116) With autograph of "Charles Henry Weston, B.A., F.R.A., F.G.S., Lincoln's Inn." Pages 111 and 112 missing. Nineteenth-century calf.

UPPSALA

University Library

(117) "Smith" imprint. With autograph of "Petrus Elvius, 1698," on title.

SWITZERLAND

BASEL

Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität

(118) "Smith" imprint. Has inscription: "Ex dono Thom...Herne, Hovenden Walker." and both errata leaf and plate of comet. Contemporary calf, gilt.

COLOGNY-GENÈVE

Martin Bodmer Library, Le Grand Cologny

(119) "Smith" imprint. Has 18th-century engraved bookplate of "Count Solms" on inside front cover. Title has old signature of "D. G. Seidel." Contemporary Dutch vellum.

GENÈVE

Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire

(120) Title has two initials: "AL" and "F." Plate of comet at p. 496. Errata leaf missing. Contemporary sheep.

NEUCHÂTEL

Bibliothèque Publique

(121) "Smith" imprint. No statement of provenance.

ZÜRICH

L'Art Ancien

(122) List 155, 1950, item 125, $687.50. "Smith" imprint. Has bookplate of "Gottfried Jac. F. Thomasius" and signature on title of "de Murr." Like Nos. 47 and 148 it is notable in having both the cancelled leaf P^4 and the cancel. The former has the diagram printed upside down. Came from the library of Prof. H. Friedr. Weber (1843-1913). Has plate of comet. Bound with N. Hanbury's "Horologia," London, 1683. 47 pp. Paper boards, with label.

Eidgenössische Technische Hochschule Bibliothek

(123) No. 1025. Has errata leaf and plate of comet. Flyleaf has armorial bookplate of "Gab. Cramer, Prof." (1704-1752). Also autograph of "L. C. Bouvier," who wrote on title: "God said, let Newton be, and all was light." Title has stamp of this Library, 1855. Eighteenth-century half-calf.

U.S.S.R.

MOSCOW

Academy of Sciences Library

(124) Front cover stamped "Academiae Scientiarum U.R.S.S. D.D.D. Regalis Societas Londini (coat of arms) MCMXLII." On second cover: "Presented to The Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R. by the Royal Society of London, on the occasion of the Tercentenary of the birth of Isaac Newton, 25 December 1642." With signatures of the officers and Council. This description was furnished by the Royal Society, but Moscow sent no reply to request for further information. Rebound in red morocco.

AFRICA

CAPE TOWN

South African Public Library, Grey Collection

(125) Contains bookplate of Revd. Holt Okes and his autograph, with the address: "Corp[us] Christi Coll, Cantab. A.D. 1802." Also inscribed: "Acc^{d}. by Dr. Ure & Mr. Cross of the Andersonian Institution of Glasgow, A.D. 1811." Gift of Sir George Grey (1812-1898), Governor of the Cape Colony from 1853 to 1861, in 1863 after he had gone to New Zealand. Blank leaf Ooo^4 and errata leaf missing. Contemporary calf, blind tooled.

AUSTRALIA

SYDNEY, N.S.W.

Miss Barbara Bruce-Smith and Mrs. Beatrix Bruce Blomfield, heirs of the Hon. Arthur Bruce-Smith, M.P.

(126) Bookplate removed from inside front cover, which has a note saying: "The Amendments in this book were written by Sir Isaac's own hand." Has nearly 5 pp.

of ms. additions and corrections for a second edition, written in Latin in Newton's hand. (See *Nature*, April 2, 1908, p. 510, and December 3, 1908, p. 130, where Mr. Bruce-Smith says the book formerly belonged to H. C. Elderton of England and originally to Sir Demetrius James of Ightham Court, Kent, who was knighted about 1685. Dr. Brasch, in *Scripta Mathematica*, March 1952, p. 60, believes that this copy was given by Newton to Nicholas Fatio de Duillier to re-edit. Fatio never completed this task and the book was later given to Roger Cotes.) Contemporary calf.

UNITED STATES

ANN ARBOR, *Mich.*

University of Michigan Library

(127) "Smith" imprint. Has autographs of "Conradi Zumbag de Koesfelt" (Coenraad Zumbach von Coesfelt, 18th-century mathematician) and "Alexander Ziwet," Professor of Mathematics at Michigan, 1888-1925, who presented the book to the Library in 1921. Contemporary vellum, reddish brown, rebacked in maroon morocco.

BABSON PARK, *57 (Wellesley) Mass.*

Babson Institute Library, Grace K. Babson Collection

(128) Babson No. 10. Has many alterations and additions in Newton's own hand. Acquired in 1926 from Maggs Bros., who had just purchased it at the Sotheby sale of the library of Prof. Hugh C. H. Candy of Queen's College, Oxford. Errata leaf and plate of comet facing p. 1. No autographs. Front and back flyleaves missing. Contemporary panelled calf with fleurons, rebacked, red label, red edges.

(129) Babson No. 10^2. At top of title, inscribed "Praet. Gd + D." No autographs. Plate of comet facing p. 1 and errata leaf at end, after blank Ooo^4. Contemporary mottled calf, rebacked, red label, red edges.

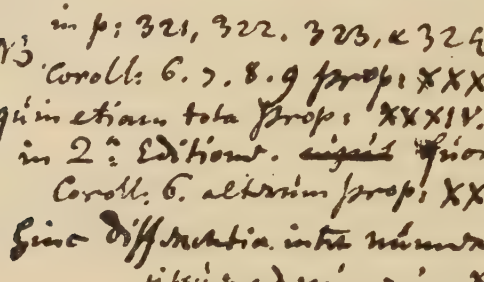
Title, verso blank. Dedication to the Royal Society, signed Is. Newton; verso blank. Newton's Preface to the Reader, 2 pp. (not signed or dated; in the 2nd edition, it was signed Is. Newton and dated at Cambridge, Maii 8, 1686). Halley's verses, signed, 2 pp. Engraved plate of comet inserted. Sigs. B-V^4, W^4, X-Z^4, Aa-Uu^4, Ww^4, Xx-Zz^4, $*^*{}^4$, Aaa-Ooo^4. Ooo^4 blank. Errata, 1 p. 1-383 pp., 400-510 pp. (page numbers omitted between 383 and 400 in all copies because of change of compositors). Numerous diagrams in the text. Bound in original mottled calf, rebacked, red label, panelled back, gilt, red speckled edges.

Besides the errors given on the Errata page, the following have been noted: p. 17, catchword not repeated at top of page; p. 29, catchword ve for vel; p. 51, sig. H^2 signed G^2; p. 58, catchword should not have hyphen; p. 65, numbering of page is corrected; p. 72, catchward italic *Pa* for roman P, a.; p. 85, catchword is omitted; p. 101, catchword EC for CE; p. 112, catchword tivi for tive, and 2nd line, last word, por- for pro-, and 9th line, last word, au- for an-; p. 129, no catchword; p. 184, wrong catchword; p. 259, sig. Kk^2, first K should not be ital.; p. 262, numbering of page is corrected; p. 267, sig. Ll^2 signed Kk^2; p. 323, catchword muto for mutuo; p. 337, Lemma has three ms; p. 481, catchword c2 for 2c.

(130) Babson No. 11. "Smith" imprint. No autographs. Plate of comet on p. 497 and errata on Ooo^4. Contemporary vellum, hand-lettered back. Purchased of Sotheran in April 1927 and listed in their 1926 Catalogue, item 5667, £40. On p. 323 is inserted a slip of paper with writing in Latin, undoubtedly in Newton's hand, giving

directions for the omission, in the 2nd edition, of Corollaries 6-9, Proposition XXXIII, and all of Proposition XXXIV. This was carried out in the 2nd ed., except that Corollary 9 was retained in place of Corollary 6.

The compiler would like to know if any other copy has this notation. (See reproduction.)



Newton's directions for future omissions, inserted at page 323, copy No. 130.

BERKELEY, *Calif.*

University of California General Library

(131) In Rare Book Room. Flyleaf has autograph: "George Hitchcocks Book 1709(?)." Errata leaf follows Halley's verses. Contemporary calf, blind stamped.

(132) In Mathematics Department. First flyleaf inscribed with the name of "Küster" and second with what appears to be "F. S. Wright Stud-ver-net 1869." Contemporary vellum over boards.

BLOOMINGTON, *Ind.*

Indiana University, Swain Hall Library

(133) "Smith" imprint. Purchased in 1944 from Walter J. Johnson. Label on spine has name of "E. (or F.) Wiedem." Contemporary vellum.

BOSTON, *Mass.*

Public Library, Rare Book Dept.

(134) Purchased in 1927 for $140 (Bowditch fund). Errata on Ooo^4 and plate of comet at p. 505. Rebound in brown levant, gilt edges, by Rivière & Son.

BRYN ATHYN, *Penn.*

Academy of the New Church Library

(135) Has bookplate of "Dr. Philip Biss, Lord Bishop of St. David's" and autograph of "I: Wortha, Coll. Ball. Oxon. 1764." Errata leaf at p. 510 and plate of comet at p. 496. Contemporary calf.

(136) "Smith" imprint. Erased autographs of three former owners. Errata leaf at end and plate of comet at p. 508. Boards.

PHILOSOPHIÆ
NATURALIS
PRINCIPIA
MATHEMATICA.

Autore *J S. NEWTON, Trin. Coll. Cantab. Soc.* Matheſeos Profeſſore *Lucaſiano,* & Societatis Regalis Sodali.

IMPRIMATUR.
S. PEPYS, *Reg. Soc.* PRÆSES.
Julii 5. 1686.

LONDINI,
Juſſu *Societatis Regiæ* ac Typis *Joſephi Streater.* Proſtant Venales apud *Sam. Smith* ad inſignia Principis *Walliæ* in Cœmiterio D. *Pauli,* alioſq; nonnullos Bibliopolas. *Anno* MDCLXXXVII.

Title of the 1687 edition with the three-line "apud Sam. Smith" imprint, from copy No. 130.

PHILOSOPHIÆ
NATURALIS
PRINCIPIA
MATHEMATICA.

Autore *J S. NEWTON, Trin. Coll. Cantab. Soc.* Matheſeos Profeſſore *Lucaſiano*, & Societatis Regalis Sodali.

IMPRIMATUR.
S. PEPYS, *Reg. Soc.* PRÆSES.
Julii 5. 1686.

LONDINI,

Juſſu *Societatis Regiæ* ac Typis *Joſephi Streater.* Proſtat apud plures Bibliopolas. *Anno* MDCLXXXVII.

Title of the 1687 edition with the two-line "apud plures Bibliopolas" imprint, from copy No. 129.

BUFFALO, *N. Y.*

Museum of Science Library

(137) Has bookplate of "Shelburne, Virtue non verbis" and autograph of F. S. Larpent. Errata leaf follows p. 510 and plate of comet at p. 496. Contemporary calf.

CAMBRIDGE, *Mass.*

Harvard University, Houghton Library

(138) On loan from Mr. and Mrs. Philip Hofer. From E. Weil, London, 1945, Catalogue 6, item 204, £175. Errata on Ooo^4 and plate of comet at p. 496. Contemporary panelled calf.

Massachusetts Institute of Technology Library

(139) On loan from Mr. Thomas S. Derr, Jr. Errata leaf follows p. 510 and plate of comet at p. 496. Diagram on p. 22 printed upside down. [Only other so reported is No. 95.] Title has autographs of John Fox, Jr., and Geo. Cleather. Armorial bookplate of John Kentish. Flyleaf inscribed: "3 Guineas. Mrs. Harding Lond. 1713. This Book was given to me by the Revd. Mr. Harding March 28th 1726." On p. 14 is a correction, perhaps in the hand of Newton. Contemporary red morocco, gilt edges.

Mr. David P. Wheatland

(140) Errata leaf follows p. 510 and plate of comet on last blank p. Title, flyleaf and p. 510 have autograph of "H. Epomenug." Also on title: "Majons Bibliothecae Collegij Soc. Jesu Prass (?) ad S. Clemusem (?) A. 1725." Rebound in half-calf.

(141) "Smith" imprint. Errata leaf faces p. 510 and plate of comet follows Halley's poem. No signs of provenance. Contemporary calf.

CHICAGO, *Ill.*

John Crerar Library

(142) Has bookplate of "Tamworth Library." Contemporary calf, in slip case.

CLIFFSIDE PARK, *N. J.*

Mr. William F. Kelleher

(143) Purchased for $380 in 1949, at sale of the library of Edward Bok in New York. Sold to a collector.

HAVERFORD, *Penn.*

Haverford College Library

(144) With bookplate of Lucius Wilmerding. Purchased at Parke-Bernet auction in New York in November 1950 for the record price of $1,500, although in no way an exceptional copy, by the late William Pyle Philips, and bequeathed by him to Haverford. Pencilled note on inside back cover: "Complete pp. Bernard Quaritch V.C.T." Contemporary calf.

HOUSTON, *Texas*

Rice Institute, Fondren Library

(145) Errata leaf and plate of comet facing p. 1. No signs of provenance. Contemporary vellum, blind stamped.

ITHACA, *N. Y.*

Cornell University Library

(146) With bookplate: "The Kelly Library, Presented to the Cornell University, 1870, by the Hon. William Kelly of Rhinebeck." Contemporary calf.

KANSAS CITY, *Mo.*

Linda Hall Library

(147) "Smith" imprint. From Quaritch, London, 1950, Catalogue 679, item 454, £150. With plate of comet. Rebound by Rivière & Son in niger morocco, gilt edges.

LAWRENCE, *Kansas*

University of Kansas Library

(148) Notable because it has the diagram on p. 112 printed upside down. (See also Nos. 47 and 122.) Title has autograph of "Sam Leake." Title and back page have rubber stamp, only part of which can be deciphered: "R. Universita ... Biblioteca ... Faculta, scienze ... Mathematica." Purchased from Walter J. Johnson, New York, 1952, $502. Contemporary vellum and blue paper boards.

LOS ANGELES, *Calif.*

University of California, William Andrews Clark Memorial Library

(149) No signs of provenance except label of "Mathias Lempertz in Bonn" on front flyleaf. Blank Ooo^4 missing. Rebound in red morocco, gilt edges.

LOUISVILLE, *Ky.*

Mr. Wm. Marshall Bullitt

(150) This copy is of notable interest because it was undoubtedly presented by Newton to his friend and patron, the Earl of Halifax, P.R.S. It has the armorial bookplate of Halifax, dated 1702, on reverse of title. Errata leaf, following p. 510, has five lines of corrections in Newton's hand. With plate of comet. From Sotheran, London, 1937, Catalogue 851, item 715. Contemporary calf, repaired by Rivière.

MADISON, *Wisc.*

University of Wisconsin, General Library, Rare Book Dept.

(151) Title is inscribed: "Ex libris Ricardi Fry, 1792." Plate of comet after Mmm^4. Acquired with the collection of Chester H. Thordarson of Chicago in 1946. Contemporary calf.

NEW HAVEN, *Conn.*

Yale University Library

(152) Qa2.60. Errata leaf faces p. 510 and plate of comet follows Halley's poem. Contemporary calf.

Historical Library, Harvey Cushing Collection

(153) Bound in modern vellum having in center of front cover the stamp of the Abt. Maximilian of Lambach. Dr. Cushing has written in pencil on cover: "This is the old stamp, evidently cut out and inserted here."

NEWTON HIGHLANDS, *Mass.*

Mr. Carl F. Muckenhoupt

(154) "Smith" imprint. With armorial bookplate of "William Reynell Anson,

All Souls College Oxford." Flyleaf has autograph of "Ernst Koch." With errata leaf and plate of comet. Purchased in 1950 from Raphael King, London, Catalogue 51, item 256, listed at £175. Rebound in 18th (?)-century calf.

NEW YORK, *N. Y.*

Mr. Whitman Bennett

(155) From the library of Charles W. Comstock. No other signs of provenance. Errata leaf and plate of comet missing. Purchased in 1952 at Swann Galleries, New York, Sale 320, item 243, $250. Contemporary panelled calf, repaired.

Columbia University Library, George A. Plimpton Collection

(156) "Smith" imprint. The gift of Mr. Plimpton and with his bookplate. Title has signature of "D. Nicholas." Last plate missing and supplied by a photographed leaf. Contemporary calf, rebacked.

(157) Purchased in 1902. No signs of provenance. Contemporary vellum, repaired.

Mr. Robert S. Dunham

(158) Inside of front cover has armorial bookplate of "Ignatius Dominicus, Count de Chorinsky." Errata leaf facing p. 510 and plate of comet at sig. B. Bound in overlapping vellum.

Engineering Societies Library, 29 W. 39th St.

(159) "Smith" imprint. Signature on title illegible. No other signs of provenance. Contemporary calf.

Mr. Harrison D. Horblit

(160) Title has signature of "James Wilson." No other signs of provenance. Contemporary calf.

New York Public Library

(161) Copy A. Reserve Div. Front flyleaf inscribed: "Emptus Oxoniae Lib. oo: B11: doo Elibanke." Thirteen pages of ms. notes in same hand and eleven blank leaves are bound in before title. Additional ms. notes on verso of errata leaf, Ooo^4. Missing plate of comet represented by pen facsimile, with Latin poem on Newton. From Sotheran, London, 1949, Catalogue 882, item 839, £140. Probably belonged to Patrick Murray, 4th Lord Elibank (1677-1736). Contemporary sheep, blind stamped.

(162) Copy B. Reserve Div. "Smith" imprint. With signatures: "Johan: Schulthess 1763" and "Heiligenstein, Frankfurt 2 May 1838." Stamp of Astor Library. Contemporary vellum.

(163) Copy C. Berg Coll. Has bookplate of Gaddesden Library. Eighteenth-century (?) mottled calf, sides blind stamped.

NORMAN, *Okla.*

University of Oklahoma Library

(164) Errata leaf and plate of comet after last blank page. The gift of Mr. E. DeGolyer of Dallas in 1952. Contemporary vellum, back repaired.

NORWALK, *Conn.*

Burndy Library

(165) With errata leaf and plate of comet at end of text. No signs of provenance. Contemporary panelled calf.

PASADENA, *Calif.*

Dean Earnest C. Watson of the California Institute of Technology

(166) Title has autograph of "Jean Jacques Dortous de Mairan" (1678-1771). Flyleaf is inscribed: "De la bibliothèque de Thos. Sigerhoff." From Sotheran, London, 1947, Catalogue 877, item 1591, listed at £175. Contemporary French calf.

PHILADELPHIA, *Penn.*

American Philosophical Society Library

(167) Title has faint signature which may be "James M. Douglas." Leaves have been washed. Errata leaf and plate of comet at end. Acquired in 1943. Rebound in 20th-century calf.

Franklin Institute of the State of Pennsylvania

(168) With bookplate and autograph of Thomas Carlyle. Bequeathed by Dr. Gustavus Wynne Cook. Contemporary calf.

Library Company of Philadelphia, Loganian Library

(169) With autograph: "Ja. Logan Apr. 1708." The "Ja. Logan" does not resemble the elder Logan's hand, but the date is definitely written by James Logan, secretary to William Penn. Two pages of ms. notes in Logan's hand precede title, and there is a one-page ms. index at end of book. Marginal notes on pp. 60, 81, and 84. This is probably the first copy of the *Principia* to be brought to America. Contemporary parchment.

PITTSBURGH, *Penn.*

Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh

(170) "Smith" imprint. Has autograph of W. L. Scaife. Contemporary calf.

PITTSFIELD, *Mass.*

Berkshire Athenaeum

(171) Marginal note on p. 19. No signs of provenance. Contemporary white vellum, with green tapes for tying.

PRINCETON, *N. J.*

Institute for Advanced Study Library

(172) Has unidentified bookplate. Plate of comet between Nnn and Nnn^2. Pages 313 to 320 (Rr-Rr^4) duplicated. From the Herbert McLean Evans collection. Presented to Dr. Evans by Mrs. Randolph Hearst in 1931. Contemporary panelled calf.

Princeton University Library

(173) Ex. 8106.674. "Smith" imprint. Title is inscribed (and later crossed out): "Ex libris I. Wilhelmi Faber, Anno 1774." Lower corner of title is stamped: "Dr. Herm. Kortum." Title appears to have been remounted. Front flyleaf has the circular stamp of Faber. Back of front cover has many ms. notes. Acquired in 1920. Contemporary vellum, with label on spine.

PROVIDENCE, *R. I.*

Brown University Library

(174) "Smith" imprint. Has an unidentified bookplate. Errata leaf after p. 510 and plate of comet at sig. B. Contemporary calf.

Mr. Albert E. Lownes

(175) Bookplate of Queen's College, Oxford. Marked "duplicate sold 1941." Errata leaf after p. 510 and plate of comet after p. 496. Contemporary sprinkled calf.

ST. PAUL, *Minn.*

Mr. William D. Morgan

(176) Front flyleaf is signed in pencil: "W. Weston." No other signs of provenance. Contemporary calf.

SAN MARINO, *Calif.*

Henry E. Huntington Library

(177) 42788. No signs of provenance. Late 18th-century sheep, with clasps.

SCHENECTADY, *N. Y.*

Professor Mortimer F. Sayre, Union College

(178) Plate of comet and errata page missing and supplied in facsimile. This copy was sold to Sotheran at Sotheby's sale in July 1952 for £30; listed in Sotheran's Catalogue 902, 1953, item 1273, and sold to Professor Sayre.

Mr. James Stokley

(179) A copy in poor condition, bought about 1936 for $5.00. Has plate of comet, but a number of pages missing, and binding is broken.

STANFORD, *Calif.*

Stanford University Library, Brasch Collection

(180) Title has autographs of "Edward Walpole, 1725; W. H. Shaw, Westmoreland Place, 51 City Road, London, 1816; and F. E. Brasch, 1940." Purchased of Quaritch in May, 1935. Contemporary calf.

URBANA, *Ill.*

University of Illinois Library, Rare Book Room

(181) Has mutilated bookplate, errata leaf and plate of comet. Contemporary calf.

WASHINGTON, *D. C.*

Georgetown University

Observatory Library

(182) Title has autograph of "John Beveridge." Errata leaf and plate of comet facing leaf B. Contemporary calf.

Riggs Memorial Library

(183) Title inscribed: "Soc. Jesu in Amca." and has autograph of "Wm. Hunt." Errata leaf and plate of comet missing. Rebound in 19th-century three-quarters straight-grained green morocco, gilt.

Both of these two copies are *remarkable* in having leaf N^2 mis-signed 2N.

Library of Congress, Rare Books Division

(184) QA803.A2 1687. Inside front cover has two bookplates, one reading: "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts" and the other: "E libris Collegii Episcopalis a Societale de Propagano apud exteros Evangelio prope Calcuttam Fundati." Errata leaf follows p. 510. Plate of comet missing. Autograph on title cannot be deciphered. Contemporary calf, rebacked.

WELLESLEY, *Mass.*

Wellesley College Library

(185) Gift of Edith J. Tower in 1916. Errata leaf faces p. 510 on sig. Ooo^4 followed by blank page. Plate of comet at p. 496. From Goldschmidt, London, £75. Contemporary calf, rebacked, with arms of the City of Edinburgh on covers.

WILLIAMSBURG, *Va.*

College of William and Mary Library

(186) Has autograph of "Thos. S. Savage" and extensive marginal notes. Presented to the College in 1864 by the Rev. Thomas L. Savage, a Yale graduate of 1825. Rebound with vellum spine and board covers.

CANADA

BRANTFORD, *Ontario*

Mr. Harold E. Mott

(187) "Smith" imprint. Has ms. list of variations, dated 1748, between the first and second editions; and a ms. copy of Newton's *Analysis per Quantitatum Series* (1711) bound in at end. Errata leaf at end and plate of comet missing. Back flyleaf inscribed: "Boyer 1738, 9 Juillet." Inside front cover has label: "Se vend Chez Mme. Ve Courcier ... A Paris." Purchased from Sotheran, 1951, Catalogue 882, item 840, listed at £200. Eighteenth-century French citron morocco, extra, gilt edges.

HALIFAX, *Nova Scotia*

Dalhousie University Library, Morse Collection

(188) With bookplate of William Inglis Morse, donor, in 1936. Plate of comet at p. 507. Errata leaf missing. Panelled calf.

MONTREAL, *Quebec*

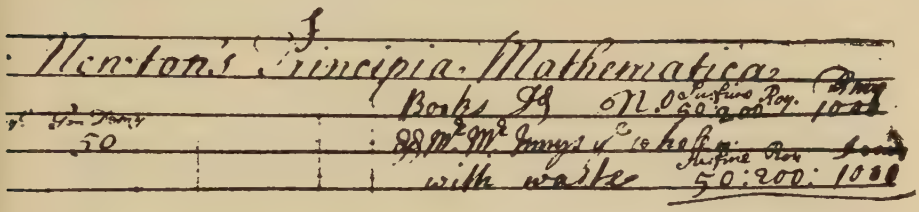
McGill University Library, Osler Collection

(189) Title has autograph of "J. C. Willisford, August 1828" in top margin; on lower margin "No. 110." Title is reproduced in Sotheran's *Bibliotheca Chemico-Mathematica*, 1921, Vol. II, p. 626. Under item 12501, it is offered at £18.18s. Flyleaf has autograph of "H. Johnson." With plate of comet. Number 1024 in *Bibliotheca Osleriana*, Oxford, 1929, p. 105. Contemporary calf, rebacked.

A Census of the Owners of Copies of the 1726 Presentation Issue of Newton's "Principia"

The 1726 third edition of Newton's *Principia* was the last published during the author's lifetime, and was the basis of all subsequent editions. It was edited by Henry Pemberton, M.D., F.R.S., and contains a new preface by Newton and a large number of alterations, the most important being the scholium on fluxions, in which Leibnitz had been mentioned by name. This had been considered an acknowledgment of Liebnitz's independent discovery of the calculus. In omitting Leibnitz's name in this edi-

tion, Newton was criticized by some as taking advantage of an opponent whose death had prevented any reply. Halley's verses were restored to their original form, after their unauthorized change by Bentley in the second edition.



Excerpt from William Bowyer's Paper Stock Ledger showing the number of copies printed of the 1726 edition: Superfine 50: Royal 200: Demy 1000.

It should be clearly understood that there were *three* issues of this third edition, all printed by William Bowyer of London. His Paper Stock Ledger, recently discovered in the Bodleian Library,[1] proves that the *first* was the regular issue of 1,000 copies on Demy paper, 4to, leaf about 24.2 x 18.2 cm., bound in calf. The *second* was the large paper issue of 200 copies, on General Royal paper with the CC watermark, large 4to, leaf about 29 x 22.5 cm., bound in calf. The *third* was the thick, largest paper, folio size, presentation issue of fifty copies, on superfine Royal paper with the crown and fleur-de-lis watermark, royal 4to, leaf about 32.4 x 23 cm., with almost all copies bound in full red or green morocco, gold tooled in the Harleian pattern, with gilt edges and marbled lining paper. The watermark is in the normal position for a 4to, midway up the leaf astride the folding.

Brewster, Gray and others[2] had stated that Newton had twelve copies of this latter issue printed at his expense for presentation to prominent scientists and friends, and that six were sent to Fontenelle for the French Academy and leading scholars in Europe. Dr. Henry Zeitlinger came nearer the truth in saying that "less than 20 copies were printed,"[3] and

[1] Dr. Herbert Davis in *The Library*, VI (September 1951), 86. (See reproduction.)

[2] D. Brewster, *Memoirs of Newton* (Edinburgh, 1855), II, 384, footnote. Gray's *Newton Bibliography* (1907), p. 8. J. Edleston's *Correspondence of Newton* (London, 1850), p. lxxix.

[3] Sotheran's *Bibliotheca Chem.-Math.*, II (1921), 622.

Dr. Frederick E. Brasch thought he had discovered twenty-five copies, although he did not definitely locate them all.[4] Bowyer's Ledger now proves unquestionably that *fifty* copies were printed, of which thirty-four are here located, seven being in the United States.

ENGLAND

BAKEWELL, *Derby*

Chatsworth Library of the Duke of Devonshire

(1) With bookplate of the seventh Duke of Devonshire. Pages 32.9 x 23.15 cm., with crown and fleur-de-lis watermark. Red morocco, gold tooled in the Harleian pattern, gilt edges.

CAMBRIDGE

King's College Library, Keynes Collection

(2) With bookplate of the Duke of Sussex and inscribed "Guilielmo Libri" and "Duke of Newcastle." Pages 32 x 22.8 cm., with the c. and f. watermark. Purchased by Keynes in 1905 of a Cambridge dealer for only 4s. Contemporary red morocco.

(3) Keynes F.2.8. Inscribed: "Ex dono auctoris, A.D. 1726." Ms. note on portrait in Fontenelle's hand. Autographs of "John Eardley Wilmot" and "O. T. Falk." Has the c. and f. watermark. Pages 32.7 x 23 cm. Contemporary red morocco.

Queens' College Library

(4) R-2-38. Presented by Newton to John Francis Fauquier, a Director of the Bank of England and Newton's assistant at the Mint. With armorial bookplate of "Francis Fauquier Esq." inside front cover. At top of title is inscribed: "Queen's [*sic*] College Library 1826," and at the bottom: "Ex Dono Auctoris Johanni Francisco Fauquier." Presented by his great-grandson, William Fauquier, to Queens' College Library, June 14, 1826. Pages 32.5 x 22.5 cm., with the c. and f. watermark. Contemporary red morocco, gold tooled in the Harleian pattern, gilt edges.

Trinity College Library

(5) C.17.14. Has the bookplate of Robert Smith, Master of Trinity College, 1742-68. Pages 36.8 x 23.2 cm., with the c. and f. watermark. Contemporary red morocco, gold tooled in the Harleian pattern, gilt edges.

HORSHAM, *Sussex*

Christ's Hospital Library

(6) No signs of provenance. Pages 28.5 x 22 cm. (May have been trimmed.) Crown and fleur-de-lis watermark. Full calf with gold tooling on spine. Marbled lining paper and marbled edges.

LONDON

Professor E. N. daC. Andrade, former Director of the Royal Institution

(7) Presentation copy from Newton to Littleton Powys. Inscribed: "Ex Dono Authoris Amico suo Littleton Powys' Mil." (Not in Newton's hand.) With Lord Lil-

[4] *Scripta Math.*, XVIII (March 1952), 62.

ford's bookplate. Powys is the family name of Baron Lilford, and the first Baron was Thomas Powys, created in 1797. Pages 33 x 23.1 cm. Purchased at Sotheby's in June 1949 for £15. Red morocco, Harleian pattern, gilt edges.

(8) No signs of provenance. Pages 32.4 x 22.7 cm. Russia, colored edges.

(9) No signs of provenance. Pages 32.4 x 22.6 cm. Russia, with gilt stamping enclosing blind stamping. Colored edges.
All three copies have the c. and f. watermark.

British Museum

(10) 31.g.7 (King's Library). No signs of provenance. Pages 33 x 23 cm. Red morocco with Harleian pattern, gilt edges. Impressed with the royal arms of George III on cover.

(11) G.2452. (Grenville copy). With armorial bookplate: "Ex Bibliotheca Domini Jon^{s} Buckworth, Baro.", who has written on half-title: "J. B. ex dono Cl. Autoris." A note at the head of the flyleaf reads: "Cet exemplaire est tiré sur le plus grand papier (y ayant trois sortes, dont on s'est servi pour cette Edition) et d'une rareté infinie: L'Autheur n'en ayant fait imprimer, qu'environ un [*sic*] douzaine d'exemplaires de cette sorte, dont il a fait des présents." Pages 32.8 x 22.5 cm. Red morocco with Harleian pattern, gilt edges.
Both copies have the c. and f. watermark.

Davis & Orioli

(12) Catalogue 125, 1946, item 310A, £18.18s. No signs of provenance. Contemporary calf, gilt, border on sides and large diamond-shaped central ornament, gilt back. Present location not known.

David Low, Ltd.

(13) Catalogue 59, 1944, item 616, £6.6s. No signs of provenance. Portrait missing and first few leaves loose. Red morocco with Harleian pattern, gilt edges. Present location not known.

William H. Robinson, Ltd.

(14) Catalogue 82, 1952, item 345, £45. Came directly from the library of the Pembroke family in Wilton and has the shelf-mark of that library in red. It seems most likely that Newton presented this copy to Thomas Herbert, eighth Earl of Pembroke (1656-1733), who was president of the Royal Society, 1689-90. Pages 32.1 x 22 cm. Has the c. and f. watermark. Contemporary calf, gilt, slightly repaired.

Royal Society, Burlington House

(15) Presented to the Society by Folkes in the name of the President, March 31, 1726. Stamped in rectangle on back of title page: "Soc. Reg. Lond. Ex dono Auctoris." Society's modern bookplate on inside cover. Pages 32.9 x 22.9 cm. Red morocco with Harleian pattern, gilt edges, newly rebacked to match.

(16) Presented by Newton to Sir Hans Sloane, who gave it to the British Museum, which in turn gave it to the Royal Society in 1830 in exchange for the Arundel Ms. Society's modern bookplate on inside cover. Stamped in rectangle on title page "Soc. Reg. Lond." Stamped on back of title in octagon "Museum Britannicum," and in oval in red ink "1331 Duplicate for sale." At top r.h. corner of title in Ms. "9 Ri." Pages 32.6 x 22.5 cm. Rebound about 1850 in full dark green morocco.
Both copies have the c. and f. watermark.

MANCHESTER

John Rylands Library

(17) At head of half-title is a faint inscription which may read: "R. Mead Dono dedit magnus Aucto." Leaf with Royal Privilege is missing. Pages 33 x 22.6 cm. Has the c. and f. watermark. Rebound about 1895 in dark red levant, gilt edges. The sides of the old red morocco binding, with gold tooling in the Harleian pattern, have been mounted on the insides of the modern covers. [Dr. Richard Mead was Newton's doctor.]

Public Reference Library

(18) No signs of provenance. Pages 33 x 23 cm., with c. and f. watermark. Has been recently rebound, but has the original gilt edges.

OXFORD

Bodleian Library

(19) Rigaud c.12. Inscribed on front flyleaf [probably in the hand of Thomas Hornsby]: "The Gift of the Author to James Bradley, Savilian Professor of Astronomy. [Dr. Bradley left his books to Mr. Sam Peach who was his wife's nephew.] The Gift of the Rev^{d}. Sam^{l}. Peach to Th^{o}. Hornsby." A later hand has continued the inscription: "from whose hands it came into the possession of The Rev^{d}. George Powell, who bequeathed it in 1830 to Radcliffe Observatory, Oxford," whose circular bookstamp and engraved bookplate it bears. In 1935 it was handed over to the Bodleian. Although it has the shelf-mark "Rigaud," it was never his property. Mounted in this copy are an engraved Notice of the election of officers, autographed by Newton in 1725 as President of the Royal Society; and an autographed letter of Edmund Halley to Dr. Pound, dated 1716. Pages 33.3 x 23 cm., with c. and f. watermark. Crimson morocco, gold tooled in the Harleian pattern, gilt edges. Repaired and rebacked, with original spine remounted.

IRELAND (EIRE)

DUBLIN

Trinity College Library

(20) L.C.1. Has 18th-century college bookplate inscribed: "liber collegii SSae et individuae Trinitatis iuxta Dublin. ex dono celeberrimi autoris dm. Is. Newtoni equitis aurati." [The last seven words are inserted in ink.] On recto of flyleaf with printer's warrant, there is written in ink: "librum hunc bibliothecae coll. SStae & individuae Trinitatis iuxta Dublin. dono dedit author celeberrimus." Pages 32.5 x 22.5 cm., with c. and f. watermark. Red morocco with gilt edges.

(21) OO.DD.3. No bookplate, but on title is written: "ex libris Claud. Gilbert." He was Vice-Provost, 1716-35, and bequeathed his books to this Library. Pages 32.5 x 22.5 cm., with c. and f. watermark. Red morocco with gilt edges.

SCOTLAND

EDINBURGH

Royal Observatory Library, Blackford Hill

(22) Only bookplate is that of the Observatory. Inscription on flyleaf mostly deleted, apparently reads: "To Thomas Thomson, Esq., Advocate. In token of ... friend ... 1820." Has label of Macmillan & Bowes and pencilled number 3400 and price £3.3s. References to Rigaud's *Bradley* and Edleston's *Correspondence*, ending

with the remark: "This book is doubtless one of the twelve copies." Pages 32.7 x 22.9 cm. with the c. and f. watermark. Red morocco, gold tooled in the Harleian pattern.

GLASGOW

University Library

(23) Bi.10.c.6. Inscription on flyleaf recording its gift to this Library in 1762 by Matthew Stewart, Professor of Mathematics at Edinburgh University, a Glasgow graduate. Pages 33 x 22.8 cm., with the c. and f. watermark. Red morocco, with Harleian pattern, gilt edges, rebacked.

AUSTRIA

VIENNA

Österreichische Nationalbibliothek

(24) 79.E.39. This copy came from the property of Prince Eugene of Savoy, but it does not have his coat-of-arms, and did not belong to the "Bibliotheca Eugeniana." On the front flyleaf is the dedication: "Neutoni Philosophorum Principis Divinum Opus, Eugenio, Imperatorum Principi Dono Dat Virtutum Utriusque Admirator humillimus Richardus Mead, M.D." Evidently it belonged to the celebrated English physician who was Newton's doctor (1673-1754). Pages 28.8 x 22.8 cm., with the c. and f. watermark. Red sheepskin, gold tooled in the Harleian pattern, but without the center design on sides.

FINLAND

HELSINKI

University Library, Nordenskiöld Collection (formerly owned by the famous explorer, Baron Nils Adolf Erik Nordenskiöld, 1832-1901)

(25) N.179.II:1082. Lower margin of title inscribed: "Biblioteca 8th (?) Vice Roi de Avenio et ad usid (?) P.J^{h}. Placidi M^{a}. Scammacca á Carana." Flyleaf has autograph of "A. E. Nordenskiöld, 1896" and on the upper corner in an older hand: "E PI V.L (?)." Pages 32.5 x 23 cm. Has the c. and f. watermark. Red morocco, with Harleian pattern in gold.

FRANCE

PARIS

Bibliothèque Nationale, Dépt. des Imprimés

(26) Rés R.625. Has bookplate of "John Conduitt Esq^{r}" and is inscribed "Ex donis Magni et Clarissimi Authoris John Conduitt." It is believed that this copy was sent to Fontenelle by Conduitt, along with material for his Éloge of Newton. Pages 33 x 23 cm., with the c. and f. watermark. Red morocco, gold tooled in the Harleian pattern and gilt edges.

GERMANY

HANNOVER

Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek

(27) IV^{2}.97.2°. With armorial bookplate of Frederick (?), Prince of Wales. Pages 32.5 x 23 cm. Has the c. and f. watermark. Red morocco, with Harleian pattern in gold, and gilt edges.

UNITED STATES

BABSON PARK, *57 (Wellesley) Mass.*

Babson Institute Library, Grace K. Babson Collection

(28) Babson No. 14. With engraved label of "George Rennie, 21, Whitehall Place" on inside front cover. [George Rennie was an English civil engineer, 1791-1866, but this probably was his son.] No other signs of provenance. Purchased from Dulau & Co. in May 1927 for £8. Apparently the same copy offered in Sotheran's *Bibliotheca*, Vol. II, p. 622, item 12510 at £3.10s., which had the Rennie label. Pages 32.8 x 23 cm., with the c. and f. watermark. Red morocco, green label, gilt, sides and spine gold tooled in the Harleian pattern, marbled lining paper, gilt edges. Spine and covers repaired.

2 p.l. blank. Half-title, verso blank. Royal Privilege, verso blank. Engraved frontispiece portrait of Newton, seated, facing right, with natural hair, wearing coat with white scarf and cuffs, from the painting now in Trinity College Hall; inscribed "Isaacus Newton Eq. Aur. Aet. 83. I. Vanderbank pinxit 1725. Geo. Vertue Sculpsit 1726." Title page partly rubricated, verso blank. Dedication to the Royal Society, verso blank. Halley's verses 2 pp. Sigs. a-c^4, B-Z^4, Aa-Zz^4, Aaa-Yyy^4. 2 pp. advtg. 1-530 pp. Index Rerum, 6 pp. (On pages 470 and 471 the numbering is reversed.) Halley's verses 3 pp. First Preface by Newton signed and dated at Cambridge, Maii 8, 1686, 3 pp. Second Preface by Newton signed and dated at London, Mar. 28. 1713, 1 p. Preface by Roger Cotes signed and dated at Cambridge Maii 12, 1713, 17 pp. Third Preface by Newton signed and dated at London, Jan. 12, 1725-6, 1 p. Index Capitum and Corrigenda, 2 pp. Engraved plate of comet printed on p. 506 and numerous diagrams in the text. Many of the copies were bound in red morocco, gold tooled in the pattern much used by the Harleian Library, with gilt edges and marbled lining paper. The c. and f. watermark is a most important identification, and leaf about 32.4 x 23 cm.

CAMBRIDGE, *Mass.*

Mr. David P. Wheatland

(29) With bookplate of "Christopher Turnor, (Stoke Rochford Library)." [Newton first went to school at Stoke Rochford, which adjoined his birthplace at Woolsthorpe. So it is probable that this presentation copy was given to Turnor by his neighbor, Newton.] Pages 32 x 22 cm., with c. and f. watermark. Full dark green morocco, with gilt tooling and gilt edges. (Clarke & Bedford.) Offered by Maggs Bros. in Catalogue 717, item 1105, at £15. and later sold by them to Mr. Wheatland in June 1952, listed at £25. .

CLAREMONT, *Calif.*

Honnold Memorial Library, Claremont College Library

(30) Presented by Mr. Homer D. Crotty. Has no bookplates but on title has autograph of "Sir Saml. Young, Bart." Pages 34 x 23 cm., with c. and f. watermark. Red morocco, gold tooled in the Harleian pattern, gilt edges.

LOS ANGELES, *Calif.*

Dr. Ralph Tyler Flewelling

(31) The gift of Mrs. H. Wildon Carr, whose husband was professor of philosophy at King's College, London University, and who bought it from a London dealer for about £8. Pages 30.6 x 22.9 cm. Has armorial bookplate of "Charles Kaye." Some

PHILOSOPHIÆ
NATURALIS
PRINCIPIA
MATHEMATICA.

AUCTORE
ISAACO NEWTONO, Eq. Aur.

Editio tertia aucta & emendata.

LONDINI:
Apud Guil. & Joh. Innys, Regiæ Societatis typographos.
MDCCXXVI.

Title of the 1726 presentation issue, partly rubricated, from copy No. 28.

sheets have the c. and f. watermark and others the CC. Red morocco, gold tooled in the Harleian pattern, has been stained black, but red shows through on spine. Gilt edges. Kaye may have been a descendant of John Caius, refounder of Caius College, Cambridge, who used the spelling "Kaye."

NORWALK, *Conn.*

Burndy Library

(32) Has no bookplates or autographs, but a signature has been cut out of upper r.h. corner of first blank leaf. Portrait is missing. Pages 33 x 22 cm., with c. and f. watermark. Red morocco, gold tooled in the Harleian pattern, gilt edges.

PASADENA, *Calif.*

Dean Earnest C. Watson, of the California Institute of Technology

(33) Has no bookplates or autographs. Pages 32.7 x 22.7 cm. Red morocco. From Davis & Orioli, London, 1946, Catalogue 121, item 134, listed at £75.

PRINCETON, *New Jersey*

Institute for Advanced Study

(34) Has no bookplates or autographs. Royal Privilege follows dedication. Pages 32.8 x 22 cm., with c. and f. watermark. Red morocco, gold tooled in the Harleian pattern, gilt edges.

HENRY P. MACOMBER

Curator, The Newton Collection
Babson Institute Library

The American Edition of "All the Year Round"

The later history of the American edition of *All the Year Round* is shrouded in mystery; but its beginning and early history can be traced with confidence. In the beginning it was not a pirated edition, as has recently been stated with considerable emphasis.[1]

On March 17, 1859, Dickens signed an agreement with Thomas Coke Evans of New York, giving him the sole right of publication of *All the Year Round* in America for one year, for the sum of £1000,[2] and further agreeing to furnish stereotype plates of every weekly number of that journal in sufficient time that it might be published weekly in America, simultaneously with its publication in London.

The "Office Letter Book" of *All the Year Round*, in which are preserved copies of letters written in the conduct of the everyday business of that journal, is now owned by the Henry E. Huntington Library. These letters were written, for the most part, by Dickens's competent partner and subeditor, William Henry Wills, and they tell a fairly clear story of the introduction of *All the Year Round* into America.[3]

On the strength of this agreement with Evans, Dickens and Wills declined the offers of Chapman and Hall and of Sampson Low and Son to act as agents for *All the Year Round* in America.[4] Wills arranged with John Greene and Son, Liverpool, to receive and transmit to T. C. Evans, in care of Adams Express Company, New York, every week a box containing seventy-five stereotype plates, being the text of a weekly number of *All the Year Round*.[5]

[1] Professor William E. Buckler says: "And we have the statement of the American publisher of the pirated edition of *All the Year Round* that the success of this latter magazine in America must have been phenomenal. . . ." Again, ". . . remember, for example, that the American edition of *All the Year Round* was a pirated one. . . ." PAPERS, XLV (1951), 160, 165.

[2] Richard D. Altick, "Dickens and America, Some Unpublished Letters," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, LXXIII (July, 1949), 331-334; Gerald G. Grubb, "The Personal and Business Relations of Charles Dickens and Thomas Coke Evans," *The Dickensian*, XLVIII (June-September, 1952), 106-113, 168-173; *The Letters of Charles Dickens: The Nonesuch Dickens*, 3 vols., ed. by Walter Dexter (London, 1938), III, 95.

[3] I am indebted to the authorities of the Henry E. Huntington Library for the privilege of examining a microfilm reproduction of this "Office Letter Book." Hereafter it will be referred to as "OLB" with the date of the letter and the page number.

[4] *Nonesuch Dickens: Letters*, III, 96, 3/18/59; OLB, 3/25/59, p. 5, respectively.

[5] OLB, 4/7/59, p. 12; 4/10/59, p. 15; and 4/21/59, p. 22.

Before April 15th, Evans had returned to New York, and about that time sold his agreement to J. M. Emerson & Co., Publishers, 37 Park Row, New-York, for six months.[6] Thereafter, throughout the first year of the journal's existence, Wills looked upon Evans as his accredited agent and upon Emerson & Co. as the official publishers. Therefore, the American publishers were both factually and legally correct in their statements when they said: "ALL THE YEAR ROUND is issued each week in New-York simultaneously with its issue in London";[7] and "ALL THE YEAR ROUND is issued in New-York from advance plates made and forwarded from London."[8]

In spite of Emerson's boast of a large circulation in May, 1859, by August of that year Dickens and Wills found it expedient, because of the journal's poor circulation in America, to assume the cost of the manufacture of the stereotype plates, which Evans was originally expected to pay. At the same time, they would not commit themselves, even tentatively, to a renewal of the agreement until they had come nearer to the end of the first year's agreement. They instructed Evans to place before them a certified statement covering all phases of the circulation in America as of January 1, 1860.[9]

Between August 13th and October 28th, relations between Wills and Evans deteriorated rapidly. On the latter date Evans owed Dickens and Wills £589,[10] which would be due on November 1st. There is no record in the "Office Letter Book" that Evans ever paid this debt.

In the meantime, on October 13th, J. M. Emerson & Co. wrote to Wills proposing that they be allowed to take over the rights and responsibilities of the American edition of *All the Year Round* for the sum of $200 per month. Wills replied that in lieu of a better offer they would go on at that rate until they could make a more favorable agreement elsewhere, or failing in that, until the expiration of the original agreement with Evans. It was in this letter that it first developed that the American publishers were having trouble in making the dates of their issues correspond with those of the English edition. Carefully, Wills explained how to make the two issues correspond.[11]

[6] OLB, 4/15/59, p. 18; *Nonesuch Dickens: Letters*, III, 115, 8/9/59.
[7] *All the Year Round*, Am. Ed. I (April 30, 1859), 24.
[8] *Ibid.*, III (April 14, 1860), 48.
[9] OLB, 8/13/59, p. 45.
[10] OLB, 10/28/59, p. 57.
[11] OLB, 10/31/59, p. 58.

Near the end of 1859, Dickens and Wills agreed to furnish Sampson Low and Son one copy of *All the Year Round* on Friday of each week before publication of that issue on the next Wednesday, for transmission to Harper and Son in New York, for the sum of £250 per year. They guaranteed Harpers that they would send no stereotype plates to America except once a month, and that such an arrangement with Emerson & Co. would not interfere with Harpers' priority right[12] to republish any story or article that appeared in *All the Year Round* not occupying more than two months.[13]

Then on December 6, 1859, Wills informed J. M. Emerson & Co. of the arrangement with Harpers, guaranteeing that such an arrangement would not be allowed to conflict with the Emerson mode of monthly publication. Wills then definitely agreed to furnish advance stereotype plates for Emerson's American edition for $200 per month, plus transportation, beginning with numbers 32 to 36 inclusive. His first shipment of plates under this new agreement went out on December 29, 1859.[14]

The American edition of *All the Year Round* then became a monthly publication, and continued to be issued with regularity and comparatively little friction with the London office until May 28, 1861. On that date two rather mysterious letters were sent out from that office. The first bears the signature of the office clerk, G. Holsworth. He told Emerson and Co. that he was inclosing a statement of the latter's account from the commencement of their relations with the journal. At the end of Volume IV, the American publisher owed the London office £200, and since that date they had received the plates for April and May, which would have increased their indebtedness to £280. Since the monthly price of $200 was then equivalent to £40, Emerson & Co. were seven months in arrears with their payments.[15]

On the same day that Holsworth wrote the last letter in the "Office Letter Book" to Emerson & Co., Wills wrote a letter to one Charles Walford of New York, in which he referred to an inclosed letter from J. M. Emerson & Co. He asked for a report on that company's ability to put an American edition of *All the Year Round* into the hands of a publisher who would be acceptable to the American public and, at the same time, be able to pay Dickens and himself the modest price they put upon the stereotype

[12] OLB, 11/29/59, p. 66.
[13] OLB, 1/29/63, p. 199.
[14] OLB, 12/6/59, p. 67.
[15] OLB, 5/28/61, p. 147.

plates and the publication privileges. Wills thought Emerson & Co. had been making a good profit of £600 to £700 a year from the sales of *All the Year Round,* but of that he thought they could speak best for themselves.[16]

It would seem that Emerson & Co., seeking relief from their obligations to Dickens and Wills, asked for authority to name their successors. Thereupon, Holsworth sent them a closing-out statement, and Wills sought expert advice on the publishers' ability to find such a successor. The final outcome of this transaction we do not know.

Volume IV of *All the Year Round* in Emerson's mode of reckoning ended with Number 108, overlapping the British edition of Volume V by eight numbers; yet, according to Holsworth's letter, Emerson received plates for all of May, which would include Number 109. Thus through all of the volumes and numbers from the beginning throughout May, 1861, as far as I have been able to trace the American imprint, the American edition of *All the Year Round* was authorized by the London office and paid for reasonably well by the American agent, Thomas Coke Evans, and the American publishers, J. M. Emerson & Co. Definitely, it was not a pirated edition.

Gerald G. Grubb

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[16] OLB, 5/28/61, p. 148.

Book Reviews

VINDEL, FRANCISCO. *El arte tipográfico en España durante el siglo XV*. Madrid, Dirección general de relaciones culturales. Ministerio de asuntos exteriores, 1946-51. [III] Valencia, Mallorca y Murcia. 1946. xxxix, 236 pp. [IV] Zaragoza [y Hijar]. 1949. xxxviii, 359 pp. [V] Sevilla y Granada. 1949. lii, 439 pp. [VI] Valladolid, Toledo, Huete y Pamplona. 1950. xxxi, 260 pp. [VII] Burgos y Guadalajara. 1951. xxxi, 335 pp. [VIII] Dudosos de lugar de impresión. Adiciones y correcciones a toda la obra. 1951. xxxv, 392 pp. [IX] Indices generales. 1951. 134 pp. 13½ x 10 inches.

This monumental work on Spanish printing in the fifteenth century, the first two volumes of which were reviewed in the PAPERS (42: 85-86), has now been completed with seven more volumes, covering all the regions of Spain in nine volumes containing about 3,000 pages. Vindel, the great Spanish incunabula authority, has studied each press in Spain, and has described the output under each place in chronological order, with adequate reproductions so far as possible of the typography and illustrations. When the first volume was printed in 1945, the period estimated for completion was so considerable that volume numbers were not assigned, thus permitting each region to be considered as a separate work in event that the enterprise might not have been completed.

More than one hundred and fifty titles not described in Haebler's *Bibliografía ibérica del siglo XV* (1903-17) have been brought to light, bringing the apparent total of known Spanish incunabula to somewhat short of a thousand. From the statement of locations in some instances, it can be observed that time has not dealt too well with the preservation of very rare or seemingly unique copies. Many were "destruído en nuestra ultima guerra."

"La Ciencia Bibliográfica adolece, en general, de una gran defecto, y más en particular en estas clases de investigaciones tipográficas, el cual consiste en copiar unos de otros, y así cuando de origen cometieron errores los primeros investigadores, todos cuantos les siguen transcribiendo y copiando estos errores, los llegan a convertir, en el curso de los años, en

artículos de fe, inconmovibles en esta materia," states Vindel (V, xi), emphasizing his endeavor to scrutinize each point in view of the latest investigation, knowledge and interpretation. In the same volume, a primitive *Sacramental* without indication of printer or place is determined to be the first book printed in Spain by three Spanish printers in 1470. Under Valencia (III) where most of the ninety-one titles described lack indication of printer and place, Vindel has established a sequence and attribution by type faces. By this same meticulous method, Vindel differentiates and illustrates the types used by Fadrique de Basilea at Burgos, 1485-1500, stating (VII, xv) that the printer "más tipografías diferentes empleó en la estampación de sus libros, de cuantos impresores trabajaron en España en esta centuria."

Vindel also writes (VI, xxi), "Estoy muy satisfecho de ser el primer investigador tanto nacional como extranjero que ha estudiado el origen de la Imprenta, llegando a la conclusión de que los primeros que aceptaron este nuevo arte fueron los propios calígrafos o copistas." There is mention of this in connection with the determination of Alfonso Fernández de Córdoba as the first printer at Valencia in 1474, and particularly in the volume on Sevilla and Granada.

Of the original printing offices operated by Spaniards at the end of the century, Vindel says (VII, xxx), that "la técnica extranjera, más perfeccionada, los anula, y Fadrique de Basilea, queda como único impresor de Burgos al entrar el siglo XVI, al igual que ocurre con las prensas tan típicamente castellanas de Sevilla, Toledo, Zamora, Huete, Valladolid, Salamanca, etc., que desaparecen, o sus continuadores son profesionales alemanes."

The eighth volume, devoted to additions and corrections to the whole work as well as to treatment of works of undetermined place of printing, includes many facsimiles that had become available only after the printing of the previous volumes. The ninth and index volume, printed at the end of December, 1951, has four parts: arrangement by Haebler number, with the newly described titles following; chronological table; index by printer; and an alphabetical index by author and by title for anonymous works.

Hebrew printing is represented only at Guadalajara and Hijar.

Vindel in the preface to volume VIII concludes with the observation: "En años futuros surgirán otros libros impresos antes de 1500, y posiblemente documentos o datos que aclaren lo que yo no he podido vislumbrar a través del velo que obscurece el origen de las imprentas en España. En

dos palabras: Satisfecho de mi esfuerzo, si. Contento con lo conseguido, no."

James B. Childs

The Library of Congress

Handbuch der Bibliothekswissenschaft. Edited by Georg Leyh. Vol. I, *Schrift und Buch.* Stuttgart, K. F. Koehler Verlag, 1950. Lieferungen 1-10.

It is fortunate that not even a war of the disastrous proportions and consequences of World War II succeeded in eradicating certain temperamental endowments of the Germans which have so long benefited the world of scholarship. Germany is the home of the encyclopedists. Librarianship has also profited. It has its *Handbuch der Bibliothekswissenschaft.*[1] The publication of this monumental work in three volumes, from 1931 to 1940, edited by Fritz Milkau and Georg Leyh, was destined to become an event in the history of the profession. That a second edition of the vocational bible of the librarian has been contemplated should constitute tidings of great joy, heightened for those who note that the current dean of German librarians, Dr. Georg Leyh, heads the project as editor. His name on the title page guarantees that the Milkau tradition of scholarship at its best will continue. An examination of the first ten fascicles which have appeared during the last two years will disclose how fully these expectations have already been met.

A corps of some thirty specialists was engaged to pursue the objective set by Fritz Milkau for the original *Handbuch.* Milkau desired a systematic presentation of the whole intellectual content of librarianship. He knew what he wanted, but was also aware that the first attempt could result only in what he called "einen ersten Entwurf." Overlapping and repetition would not be detected until after its appearance in print. Milkau was certain that there would have to be a second edition of the *Handbuch.* The first edition was soon exhausted, and it has been next to impossible to find a set in the second-hand market. Evidently, those who own the Milkau opus keep it.

Still another reason made the reissuance of the *Handbuch* mandatory. When Dr. Leyh in Tübingen affixed the date to his introduction to the Milkau memorial volume Hitler's troops had already been in the field nine months. Oddly enough, from amid the crescendo of terror that was developing there became audible the still, small voice requesting guidance

[1] Now published by Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden.

for a new generation of librarians, whose arduous task would be the restoration of all that the conflagration would consume: prestige, pride, and property. Dr. Leyh heard that plea. He wrote: "Die ungeheure Katastrophe des deutschen Bibliothekswesens im zweiten Weltkrieg und die gebieterische Notwendigkeit des Wiederaufbaus . . . forderte noch einmal die Errichtung eines 'Wegmales' zur Orienterung." Here in Georg Leyh's words appears a very compelling reason indeed for the issuance of the 1950 *Handbuch*.

A new and enlarged version of the presentation of "Die Bibliotheken des vorderen Orients einschlieszlich Ägyptens" is being scheduled. Similarly the section on the reception of Greek learning by the Arabs will be treated more extensively. Space has been reserved for a monographic survey of the history of libraries in France, Italy and Scandinavia. A special feature to be included will be Dr. Götz v. Selle's "History of Scholarship." Because of its value in research, the newspaper as a medium of communication has been slated for attention. Larger by one volume than before, the new *Handbuch* will bring in its fourth volume a thorough study of the public library field, a desirable innovation.

Volume I has retained its original title *Schrift und Buch*. However, certain changes have been made. The chapter on linguistics by Hans Schnorr von Carolsfeld, which was the opening chapter in the first edition, has been omitted. The chapters on "Manuscripts" and "Papyrology" now precede "Book Decoration and Ornamentation," and many will agree that this arrangement is more logical. There is no indication as to what will be done with the admirable "Introduction" by Milkau dealing with the term "library science" as introduced and defended by Martin Schrettinger over a century ago. For German librarianship this must be considered "ein überwundener Standpunkt." The profession on this side of the Atlantic would like to believe the same. The "Introduction" has served its purpose, and there is probably no weighty reason why it should be retained.

Volume I of the first *Handbuch* had 876 pages, exclusive of the introduction. At this writing the new *Handbuch* has reached page 960, where Chapter X is concluded. The last two chapters in the previous edition, the subject of which will be covered in the succeeding edition in Chapters XI and XII, required 49 pages. Thus, calculations setting 1,000 pages as the scope of the first volume will probably prove accurate. The chapter on papyrology, third in the present edition, received an increase of 53 pages, the largest of any. Chapter I, dealing with graphic systems, was shortened by 22 pages, the most extensive reduction this far. The tenth,

on the book trade, still covers 111 pages. Incunabulists, who wished for a more extensive treatment of their subject, should be especially pleased that additional pages were granted them.

As to the staff, Dr. Leyh states that much care was exercised in filling the serious gaps caused by infirmity and death. New contributors are Walter Menn, Paul Ruf, Rudolf Juchhoff, Friedrich Adolf Schmidt-Künsemüller, Götz von Selle, and Hans Widmann. Four of the original contributors to Volume I of the 1931 *Handbuch,* Doctors Böhmer, Löffler, v. Rath, and Husung, died while at work on the new edition.

Following is the table of contents of the first volume: Writing and its Development, by Walter Menn, Director of the Mayence University Library, and Aloys Böhmer; Manuscripts in General, by Paul Ruf, Librarian of the State Library at Munich, and Karl Löffler; Papyrology, by Karl Preisendanz, Director of the Heidelberg University Library; Book Decoration, by Albert Boeckler, Librarian of the State Library at Munich; Printing and Book Illustration Prior to 1600, by Rudolf Juchhoff, Librarian of the Cologne University Library, and Erich v. Rath; Printing from 1600 to the Present, by Julius Rodenberg, Librarian of the Deutsche Bücherei, Leipzig; Book Illustration in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century, by Hans Wegener, Director of the Erlangen University Library; History of Illustration, 1800 to the Present, by Julius Rodenberg, Librarian of the Deutsche Bücherei, Leipzig; History of Binding, by Adolf Schmidt-Künsemüller, Director of the Krefeld Library, and Max Husing; History of the Book Trade, by Ernst Kuhnert, Senior Director (emeritus) of the Prussian State Library, Berlin, and Hans Widmann.

Complete bibliographical data are still given in the footnotes. All writers have taken account of the works of significance on the various phases of their subjects. Omissions were doubtless unintentional. Americans are prone to forget the meagreness of the facilities to which German scholars have access nowadays.

Although the corps of specialists includes the names of men who in their wide reading in the period from 1933 to the collapse might conceivably have become linguistically tainted by Nazi German, it is good to record that this did not happen. There is no trace in the 1950 *Handbuch* of the gibberish that had begun to replace pure German in the thirties. The 960 pages printed thus far utilize the medium which German scholarship employed, and by it made a name for itself, before the advent of the language-tinkerers rampant in the Third Reich.

The Anglo-German tradition of typographical accuracy has not been vitiated—at least not in the two or three fascicles this reviewer checked critically page for page. Print and paper are as good as in the first edition. As to the plates and facsimiles, though they undoubtedly represent a judicious choice, the question may still be raised as to why there has not been a larger increase in the new edition. Among the many users of the *Handbuch,* library school staff members who teach the course in historical bibliography and believe in a familiar Chinese saying would appreciate an addition.

The question arises as to whether the new *Handbuch* should be translated in its entirety. A number of American librarians believe that such a translation would preëmpt the field against a new work of the same character in the English language. Others favor translation and publication of particular sections. An admirable beginning in that direction has been made by Dr. Lawrence S. Thompson, director of the University of Kentucky Libraries. It would seem to this reviewer that since American librarianship has already long come of age but apparently is without the interest or initiative to prepare a treatise on the grand scale of the *Handbuch,* its translation is much to be desired. Obviously it will be a difficult task. However, it is a pleasure to report that competent bilingual scholars in the American field of librarianship are already at work on this sizable and challenging project.

E. Heyse Dummer

Bradley University Library

Schmitt, Franz Anselm. *Beruf und Arbeit in deutscher Erzählung; ein literarisches Lexikon.* Stuttgart, Hiersemann Verlag, 1952. XVI pp. + 667 columns. 9½ x 6½ inches. DM 28.00.

In the United States we are familiar with Mary Lingenfelter's *Vocations in Fiction* (Chicago, American Library Association, 1938; second edition) and with numerous smaller lists issued by special libraries such as Margery Hornsby's *Novels with a Mining Background* (University of Kentucky Library, *Occasional Contribution,* No. 21, 1951). However, no American bibliographer has made so bold as to undertake any work as monumental as that of Franz Anselm Schmitt, which includes over 12,400 titles describing some four hundred occupations.

Schmitt's task has not been an easy one, and one of his most difficult jobs has been to define his limits for inclusion and exclusion. From Ger-

man fiction of the last two centuries he has selected only those works in which some occupation plays a decisive rôle in the structure and development of the story. He excludes drama and verse, and he includes only those juveniles which give an especially detailed description of some calling. He has omitted novels about writers, princes, professional soldiers, and politicians, which have been amply listed by Arthur Luther in *Deutsche Geschichte in deutscher Erzählung* (1943; second edition). Neither is there any entry under *Detektiv*. In general, Schmitt has made a judicious and instructive selection from what could have been an unmanageable mass of titles.

The arrangement is alphabetical according to the name of the occupation, but there is a classified index. There are also indexes of historical persons who appear as characters and an author index. In the main text there are cross-references, when necessary (e.g., under *Flieger* there are references to *Ballonfahrer*, *Flugzeugführer*, *Luftschiffführer*, and *Segelflieger*). Each entry includes author, title, and imprint, and, if needed, a very brief annotation, often in a single word. Under occupations for which there are numerous entries we find geographical and chronological subdivisions.

There is a wealth of raw material in this bibliography for research in many fields. To name only a few such fields one might list literature, sociology, folklore, political and economic history, and religion. Comparable works for every national literature would be welcome additions to any reference collection.

Lawrence S. Thompson

University of Kentucky Libraries